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Marseilles

1798

An Historical  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
PLAQUE  
AT  
*M A R S E I L L E S.*

GIVING

A particular Relation of all the different Occurrences that happen'd during the Visitation of that CITY.

Publish'd by Authority at *Paris*, and faithfully  
Translated from the Original *French*.

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By J. S. M. D.

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To which is added,

A Letter from Monsieur PONS, Physician of the Faculty of Montpelier, wrote from *Marseilles* (while he resided there by Order of the Regent) to Monsieur de Bon Chevalier, first President of the Court of Aids and Finances of *Montpelier*; discovering the NATURE and CAUSE of the PESTILENCE, its SYMPTOMS, and the METHODS and MEDICINES used for the Recovery of the INFECTED.

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The SECOND EDITION revised: To which is added, A particular and distinct Description of the City of *Marseilles*.

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L O N D O N

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.



ANY are the Calamities Incident to Human Nature, but none more dreadfull than the Plague, being a more immediate Indication of Divine Wrath, and Displeasure for the Sins of the People that labour under that Afflicting Dispensation; This I think particularly appears from the following Relation, And therefore, I hope it will meet with a Candid Reception: Since the Original was publish'd at Paris by Publiek Authority.

I shall here add a short Description of the City and District of Marseilles as handed down to us by the best Authors, which I can<sup>t</sup> affirm to be true

## The P R E F A C E.

and authentick, having myself been upon the Spot for some time in the Year 1714. You will in the Course of this History, observe that the Bishops, Governour, Sheriffs, and other Publick Magistrates, tho' expos'd to the most imminent Danger, and Conversant in the greatest Violence of the Distemper, were secured from the Arrow which Flies by Day, and the Pestilence which walketh in Darkness. A strong Proof of the Care of Providence over Magistrates in doing their Duty, and when they are walking abroad to do good: But I hope that the same Providence that has hitherto preserved us, will still Continue his Benign Influences upon this Isle, and secure us from those Just Fears our Iniquities have so loudly call'd for; and that by a Sincere and hearty Repentance, we may prevent the Evil we have so Justly deserv'd,

JOHN SOAME.

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T H E



A

# DESCRIPTION O F *M A R S E I L L E S.*



N giving you a Description of this famous City of *Marseilles*, I shall confine myself as near as possible to the Account which the Ingenious Mr. Bradley publish'd in a late Pamphlet intitled, *The Plague of Marseilles consider'd.*

*Marseilles* is one of the most considerable Cities in *France*, and the most Populous, and most Trading Town of all *Provence*. It is so Ancient,

Ancient, that it is reckon'd to be have been built upward of 630 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. It was once a very flourishing Republick ; and its University was in such Esteem, as drew Students from all Parts of Europe.

This City is a Bishoprick under the Archbishop of *Arles*. Its seated on the *Mediterranean Sea* ; Fourteen Miles South of *Aix* : Thirty-eight almost N. W. of *Toulon* : Forty four almost S. W. of *Arles* : One Hundred and Ten West of *Nice* : And Three hundred Eighty-eight Miles almost South of *Paris*. *Longitude 24° 35'. Latitude 42° 47'*.

*Marseilles* is situate at the Foot of a Hill, which rises in the Form of an Amphitheatre in Proportion to its Distance from the Sea. The Harbor is Oval, and bounded by a Key about 1400 Paces long, upon which stand some of the handsomest Houses in the Town. It affords a very delightful Walk, part whereof is taken up in the Day-time by the working Galley-Slaves Stalls, where you may furnish yourself with Cloaths, and other Necesfaries.

The Entrance of the Harbor is shut up by a Chain supported at certain Distances by Three Stone Pillars, so that only one large Ship can pass at a Time, tho' the Haven will contain about Five Hundred. And hither are brought all Sorts of Commodities from all Parts of the known World.

The Cathedral Church, call'd *Notre Dame la Majeure*, whereof St. *Lazarus* is Patron, is very

very solemn. It was formerly a Temple dedicated to *Venus*, or to *Diana of Ephesus*. Its Form is irregular; but it was not thought proper to add or diminish any Thing. There remain several large Columns, on which stood the Idol. The Treasury of this Church is very Rich: Here you may see the Head of St. *Lazarus*, that of St. *Canat*, a Foot of St. *Victor*, and many other Relicks. Near the Cathedral, is a Chappel built upon the Spot, where (the *Marsellians* tell us) St. *Mary Magdalene* preach'd the Gospel to the Idolaters as they came out of the Temple.

*Notre Dame des Acoules*, is also a fine large Church, which was formerly a Temple sacred to the Goddess *Pallas*. In that of St. *Martin* which is Collegiate, and Parochial is preserv'd a Silver Image of the Blessed Virgin, five Foot and a half high; the Crown and Ornaments whereof are very Rich. The Church of our Saviour now belonging to a Nunnery, which was anciently a Temple of *Apollo*. All these Places are so many Proofs of the Antiquity of this City, as well as two other Temples near the Port with two Towers, viz. that of St. *John* which is a Commandery of the Knights of *Malta*, and that of St. *Nicolas*.

The Abbey of St. *Victor*, of the Order of St. *Benedict*, is situated at the Foot of the Citadel. It resembles a Castle being encompass'd with Walls, and set off with Towers. At the Front of the Church are these Words address'd to St. *Victor*.

*Massiliam vere, Victor Civesque tuere,*

In a Chappel on one Side of the *Epistola* you see the Head of that Saint, in a Shrine of Silver gilt, finely wrought, which was given by Pope *Urban V.* whose Tomb is on the Side of the Choir, there are many other Reliques in this Church. You then descend a large Stair-Cafe into the Church under Ground, where the Chappels visited by the Curious, are full of holy Bodies. There they shew you the Tomb of St. *Eusebius*, and those of Forty-five Virgins, who disfigur'd themselves to terrify the *Vandals*, who put them to Death. Here also you see, St. *Andrew's* Cross entire, the Branches whereof are Seven Foot long, and Eight Inches Diameter, in one of these subteraneous Chappels is a little Grotto, wherein St. *Mary Magdalen* (they tell us) upon her landing in this City began to do Penance. They add, That she inhabited it Six or Seven Years. Her Statue likewise represented, lying at the Entrance of this Grotto. There is also a Rich Chappel of our Lady, where no Women are permitted to enter. This Order was made, upon the Vulgar Notion, of a Queen who being struck blind had the Tementy to venture.

In this City you may observe likewise the Monasteries and Churches of the *Carthusians*, the Monks of St. *Anthony*, the *Trinitarians*, *Jacobins*, *Augustins*, the bare-footed *Augustins*, *Carmelites*, bare footed *Carmelites*, *Cordiliers*, Ob-

Observat<sup>ns</sup>, Servites, Minnems, Capuchins, Recollects de la Mercy, Feuillens, Jesuits, Fathers of the Oratory, and of the Mission. There are also Benedictine Nuns, Dominicans, Nuns of St. Claræ, Copuchins, Carmelites, Bernardines, Urselines, Nuns of the Visitation of Mercy, and of the good Shepherd or Repentance; and a Commandery of Malta.

The Citadel of this City is near the Port, extending its Fortifications to the Entrance of the same; and yet it commands the Town. This Citadel was erected by a Stratagem of Lewis XIV. who in the Progress he made through this Province, visited *Marseilles*, and chose that Spot of Ground for a Country-House. Immediately the City complimented him with the same. And thereupon, broke down part of their Walls and built this Famous Fortification.

The Key which lines this Side of the Harbour from Port St. Nicolas to the Arsenal, is about 1500 Paces long, and is adorn'd with handsome Warehouses, and Dwelling-Houses. Here is the great Hospital for sick Slaves, which was formerly the Arsenal till the new one was built.

Six large Pavillions, as many main Houses, and a great square Place, big enough to build several Gallies at a Time in, Form the Design of it. In this Place are two large Basons, as long and as deep as a Galley, in each of which, when a Galley is ready to launch, they open a small Sluice which kept up the Sea-Water. This great Building makes

one entire Front of the Port, 300 Paces in Length; the Harbour of *Marseilles* is 1300 Paces long, and the Circumference about 3450 Paces.

The Streets of the Old Town are long, but very Narrow, Those of the New are Spacious and well Built Halls. The chief is that they call the *Cearse* or *le'Couis*, which is near 40 paces broad, in the middle of which is a Walk planted with Four Rows of young Elms, which with the Keys are the Places of Publick Resort.

The Town House which they call *la'Loge*, is situated upon the Key over against the Galleys: Below this is a large Hall, which serves the Merchants and Sea-fairing Men for an Exchange, and above Stairs, the Consuls, Sheriffs, Town Councillors, and others concern'd in the Civil Administration have their Meeting. The most valuable Piece in this Building, is the City Arms in the Front, Carved by the famous *Puget*.

*Marseilles* seems still to retain somewhat of the Ancient Government of its Four Courts being divided into Four Quarters, *viz* *St. John*, *Cavills Corps le Ville*, and *Blancaire*, each of which has its Governours, and other Officers. The *Port Royal* is well adorn'd, having on one side the Figure of *St. Lazarus*, and on the other, that of *St. Victor*, and in the Middle is a Bust of *Lewis 14th*, with this Inscription over it,

*Sub cuius Imperio summa Libertas.*

The

The Town is encompassed by good Walls. And a Tetragen which commands a part of it, is the best of the Two Citadels, and within a Cannon shot of a Fort call'd *Notre Dame de la Garde*. Where the Inhabitants frequently go to pay their Devotions; and from whence they discover Ships at Sea, at a great Distance. This Fort is built on the Top of a Mountain, upon the Ruins of an Ancient Temple of *Venus* call'd *Ephesium*.

The Countries about this City, is low and open for two Miles, agreeably adorn'd with Vallies, Vineyards, and Gardens of Fig-Trees, and Orange-Trees, with plenty of Water from a good Spring, which being divided into several Branches, serves to furnish the City.

As for the Inhabitants they are for the most part, Poor and uncleanly, and chiefly Eaters of Fruit, Herbs, and Roots, with such like mean Fare, nor do they take any Pains to clean their Streets where the meaner Sort have their Habitation, and where they abound with the most Filthines. Necessary Houses, they are utter Strangers to, but the Terras of their Houses are made the Repositories of all their Ordour, where it lies for some time, before it is carried away, being no otherways remov'd, but by the Force of the Rains which washes them down into the Streets.

Their Bread is very Coarse and dear, and perhaps what has Principally contributed to the Progress

Progress of the Plague among them, was, the great Number of those which lodg'd together in one and the same House, as you will perceive by the vast Numbers of Dead which were found in those Streets more then in any other Part of the City.

It is Computed by Mr. Bradley, and other Hands, That about 60000 are Dead of the Plague at *Marseilles* to December the 10th 1720.





An Historical  
 A C C O U N T  
 O F T H E  
 P L A G U E at *Marseilles.*



HE Coasts of the *Levant* being always suspected of the Plague, all Vessels trading to those Ports, and coming to *Marseilles*, were stop'd at the Isles of *Chateaudiff*, where the Magistrates of Health always took particular Care to regulate the Time and Manner of their Quarentine, both as to the Ship's-Crew, and likewise to the due Airing of their Goods, or Merchandize, according to the Nature of their Bills of Health, and the Estate and Condition of all that were on board the said Vessels.

In the beginning of *May* 1720, they were credibly inform'd at *Marseilles*, that the Plague rag'd violently in several Part of *Palestine* and *Syria*, since last *March*.

On

On the 25th of the same Month, the Vessel of Captain Chataud, which came from *Sidon*, *Tripoli-Syria*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, arriv'd at the Isles; but with clean Bills of Health, because they departed from those Parts the 31<sup>st</sup> of *January*, which was before the Plague was discover'd.

Notwithstanding, the Captain declar'd to the Magistrates of Health, that in his Voyage he touch'd at *Leghorn*, where six of his Mariners dy'd; but the Physicians of the Pratick there, gave their Certificates that they died only of Malignant Fevers, caus'd by the bad Provision they were forc'd to live upon.

On the 27th of *May*, one of the Mariners died on Board.

On the 28th, the Magistrates of Health order'd the Body to the Infirmary, in order to be visited by Mr. *Guerard*, first Chirurgeon of the Practick \*, who declar'd, there was not the least Mark of Contagion.

On the 29th, the Intendants of Health agreed on the Method of purifying and cleansing the Merchandizes and Cargo of the Ship, ordering a Quarentine of Forty Days, beginning from the Day that the last Bale of Goods was convey'd into the *Lazaretto*.

On the last Day of *May*, three more Vessels arriv'd at the same Isles, viz. the Bark of Captain

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\* *Pratique* or *Practick*, (by Seamen erroneously call'd *Product*) it is an *Italian* Word, and signifies a Licence to Traf-fick or Trade, granted to the Master of a Ship in the Ports of *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, &c. upon a Bill of Health or a Certificate that the Place from whence he came is not annoy'd with any Impetuous Disease.

Captain *Aillaud*, who parted from *Sidon* after the Plague had broke out ; another small Vessel of Captain *Aillaud*, which came from the same Place ; and a Bark of Captain *Fougue*, which came from *Alexandrette*.

The 12th of *June*, Captain *Gabriel's* Ship arriv'd here with a foul Bill of Health from the same Places.

That very Day the Guard of Quarentine, which the Magistrates of Health had put on board Captain *Chataud*, died ; and the afore-mention'd Mr. *Guerard*, chief Chirurgeon of the *Practick* \*, visited the Body, and declar'd that he found not the least Sign of Contagion.

The 14th of *June*, the Passengers belonging to the said Ship, having had their last Perfume in the *Lazareto*, had Liberty to enter the City as other Inhabitants.

The 23d, being the Eve of *St. John Baptist*, Monsieur the Grand Prior, arriv'd here with the King's Gallies : Messieurs the Echevins, or Sheriffs, went to compliment his Excellency on behalf of the City, who receiv'd them very graciously.

That very Day, \* a Ship Boy, aboard on Captain *Chataud*, and a Porter in the *Lazareto*, who had the Care of purifying the Merchandise of the said Ship, and another who was ordered to take care of those of Captain *Gabriel*, all fell ill together ; but by the Report

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\* I think this is a plain proof against Dr. *Pye's* Assertion, That Infection cannot be communicated by Goods or Merchandise.

Report of the same Chirurgeon, there was no Sign of Contagion.

On the 24th, another Porter that was order'd for the airing of the Goods of Captain *Aillaud*, fell ill ; and being visited, the same Report was made as of the others.

\* On the 24th and 25th, all the four that were infected, died successively : Nevertheless the Chirurgeon reported that he could not find out the least Sign of Contagion.

But notwithstanding these Reports the Chirurgeon had made to the Mrgistrates of Health, it gave them no Satisfaction, but made them use double the Precaution. Whereupon they immediately order'd all the dead Bodies to be interr'd in Quick-Lime, and gave likewise Orders that the three Vessels of Captain *Chataud*, *Aillaud*, and *Gabriel*, should forthwith depart from the Isles of *Pomegue*, to a distant Isle call'd *Jarre*, in order to begin a new Quarantine ; † and order'd all the Goods that were in the Infirmary, to be shut up close, and would not permit the Porters that were order'd to attend them, to give them the least Air.

On the 28th of June, another Embarkation, being a Vessel belonging to Captain *Gueymart*, and came from *Sidon*, arriv'd also at the Isles with a foul Bill of Health.

The

\* This still continues what was before mention'd against Dr. Pyc.

† This Care of the Magistrates show the certainty of the Infection in the Goods.

The 1st of July, the Magistrates of Health determined that all Vessels coming with a foul Bill of Health, should be made to retire to the great Mould, or Indraught of the Isle of *Pomegue*.

\* On the 7th of July, two other Porters that were shut up in the *Lazaretto*, in order to air and cleanse the Merchandize of Captain *Chataud*, fell ill: the Chirurgeon visited them, and although he found Swellings in both their Arms, yet he did not believe it to be any thing of the Plague; but, poor Man! he suffer'd for his Ignorance in this Affair, for soon after he himself died, and part of his Family.

On the 8th of the same Month, a third Porter also fell ill: The Chirurgeon found he had a Swelling on the upper part of his Thigh; and moreover, declared it to be a Sign of Contagion, and desired a Consultation.

The Magistrates of Health immediately called three other Master Chirurgeons to visit along with him, and they all gave their Report that they had really the Plague.

The 9th, the Infected all died, and were immediately buried with Quick-Lime, and all their Apparel burnt.

The Magistrates immediately resolved to take all the Merchandizes of Captain *Chataud*, out of the *Lazaretto*, and to send them to be

C purified

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\* This is still a farther Proof of the Necessity of performing Quarantine.

purified in the Isle of *Jarre*; and went thereupon to the Town-House, and acquainted the Sheriffs of what had happen'd.

The Affair now appear'd of such Consequence, that Letters were wrote to the Council-Marine, and to the Marshal Duke *de Villars*, Governour of *Provence*; and they likewise deputed Mr. *Estelle*, first Sheriff, with two Magistrates of Health, to proceed directly for *Aix*, in order to acquaint Mr. *Lebret*, first President of the Parliament, and Intendent of Justice and Commerce, with what had happen'd in this City.

That Day Mr. *Peissonel*, and his Son, both Physicians, came to the Town-House, and acquainted the Sheriffs, that having been called to a House in *Linche-Street*, to see a Young Man call'd *Eissalene*, he appear'd to them to be infected with the Contagion.

That Moment they sent Guards to the Door of the House, to hinder any Person from going out of the same.

The Day following, being the 10th of *July*, the Young Man died, and his only Sister then found herself ill; the Guard of the House was thereupon doubled, and they were resolved to carry them both out of the House: and in order to do it quietly, and without the least Alarm to the Publick, Mr. *Moustier*, the other chief Sheriff, repair'd to the House without the least Noise, about 11 at Night, and brought with him the Porters of the Infirmary, and encourag'd them to go up into the Rooms where

where the Sick and Dead were ; and having brought them down, caus'd them to be carried in Litters out of the Town into the Infirmary ; and all the other Inhabitants of the House, were conducted into the same Place, accompanied by a Guard in order to hinder any Person's too near Approach to them : And then they returned, and order'd the Door to be wall'd up with Lime and Sand.

On the 11th, News was brought that one nam'd *Bayal*, was fallen ill in the same part of the Town ; the Physicians and Chirurgeons were sent to visit him, they all declared he was infected with the Contagious Distemper. Immediately thereupon his House was guarded, and Night being come, Mr. *Moustier* went with the Porters of the Infirmary to the House ; they found the poor Wretch just expir'd ; he order'd them to take up the dead Body, and accompany'd them till he saw the Body inter'd with Lime, and then immediately came back to the House, and conducted the rest of the Family into the *Lazaretto*, and wall'd up the Door.

The 12th of July, a particular Account was given to the Grand Prior, who at that Time was at *Marseilles*, of all that had happen'd, and a Letter from the first President was wrote to the Magistrates of Health, that they immediately order'd to the Isle of *Jarre*, all the rest of the Vessels that came from the *Levant* with foul Bills of Health, and to transport likewise all the Merchandize to the same Place from the Infirmaries : M. *Audimar*, Sheriff,

was present at the Assembly, when these Resolutions were carried.

The same Day, and the following, Messieurs, the Sheriffs made a most exact Search in all Parts of the City, to discover what Persons had held any Communication with the infected; and all those that were most suspected, were conducted into the Infirmaryes, and the others ordered not to go out of their Houses.

On the 14th, they acquainted the Council of Marine with all that had pass'd, and order'd a stop of all Bills of Health to any Vessels, till such time as they cou'd be more satisfied that this Distemper would be of no ill Consequence.

On the 15th, (to the end that, if possible, by the Refusal of expediting Bills of Health, it should not be belived the Plague is at *Marseilles*, in foreign Countries, and thereby all Commerce interrupted) they wrote to all the Magistrates of Health, in all the Ports of *Europe*, the true Matter of Fact, That they had a great many sick in the Infirmaryes; but the Contagion had not made any Progress in the City.

July the 21st, Since the 15th, to this Time, nothing of the Distemper hardly appear'd in the City, with which they acquainted the Council of Marine, with abundance of Joy; and they continued their utmost Care to see all things necessary provided for those that were in the Infirmaryes; as also for them that were shut up in their Houses.

The Publick upon this were so Fool-hardy, that they began to condemn all the Precautions

ons that had been hitherto taken by Messieurs the Sheriffs, as wholly useless and unnecessary, and gave out that the two Persons that died *Lincie-Street*, did not die of the Plague, but of some other Distemper, and insulted the Physicians and Chirurgeons, for giving such a false Alarm to the City by their Ignorance. At this time abundance of People seem'd to be very courageous, whom, in a little time after, we found struck with a Panick Fear beyond all the rest ; their Courage was soon gone, when they found the Plague was without doubt amongst them ; they were the first that began to fly away, with the greatest Fear and Disorder.

The 26th of July, Information was given the Sheriffs, that the Street call'd *Lescalle*, in the old Town, and a Quarter that was inhabited mostly by poor People, was infected, and that 15 Persons were fallen ill of the Distemper : The Physicians and Chirurgeons were sent to visit them, and gave their Report that some were Malignant Fevers, and others Pestilential, occasion'd by the bad Nourishment that these poor Wretches were forc'd to live on, through Want and Misery for a long Time. Not one would positively say it was the Plague, and they likewise would not satisfy the People positively, being already dispos'd to resent the false Alarm, as they said the Physicians had before given out.

The Sheriffs, notwithstanding, did not abate in the least of their Care and Precaution, in doing and providing all that was necessary for the poor sick People, as if they were really

ly infected, and sent all of them to the Hospitals, without the least Noise; and those of the Family that remain'd, were sequestred in their Houses.

The Day following, being the 27th, three of the Sick died; they were visited in the same Parts where they died, two of them had Buboes found on them; but yet the Physicians and Chirurgeons held the same Tone, *viz.* That the Cause of all their Sicknes proceeded only from bad Nourishment. But notwithstanding this their Report, no sooner was Night come, but Mr. *Moustier* repair'd to the Place, with the Porters of the Infirmary, and order'd (if they were not willing) to take away by Force the dead Bodies, and carry them to the Infirmary, and there had them buried in Quick-Lime; the rest of the Night he spent in conveying all the Sick out of their Houses into the Infirmaries.

The 28th. Betimes this Morning, diligent Search was made in all Parts for those that held any Communication with the Sick, in order to shut them up. Other Persons fell ill in the same Street, and some of the Sick died. The Moment that Mr. *Estelle* was acquainted with it, (being just come from *Aix*) he order'd the Porters of the Infirmaries to convey the dead Bodies away, and bury them in Quick-Lime, and continu'd in this Employment till Day-break.

The Common People, who love to be deceiv'd, and wou'd by no means believe it to be the Plague, alledging a Hundred false Excuses

cuses (or Reasons, as they call'd them) for the same, saying the Plague did not attack only the poorer Sort, it made no Distinction when it was real, neither was it so slow in its Motions; that it did not give any Days of Respite, and that you shou'd see all, without Distinction, attack'd at once, with the most furious Rapidity, and with the most horrible Ravages that ever were related.

Some were of Opinion that this Distemper proceeded purely from Worms: But while they prated with so much Fool-hardiness, their Souls were trembling with Fear, and were contriving to make their Escape, not thinking of the Fate of the rest; every one being frightned, took their Flight, and sought for Places of Safety to retire to, in other Parts.

The Distemper yet continu'd in the Street of *Lescalle*.

The 29th of July, and during six Days following, the Sheriffs were employ'd in their nocturnal Expeditions of removing and burying the dead Bodies in Quick-Lime, and in the Day-Time, in making strict Enquiry after all those that came near the Dead or Sick. There were now several other Parts of the City afflicted with the Sickness, and the Houses sequestred by Guards. There were Dead every Night, and Messieurs *Estelle* and *Monsnier* went alternatively every Night, to see the Bodies convey'd into the Infirmaryes, and bury'd in Quick-Lime, and there Houses were either walled up or perfum'd: Expeditions so perilous and fatiguing! But above all, when they were

were forc'd to watch almost all the Night on the cold Stones, and then in the Day-time to do a Thousand Things not less fatiguing; and dangerous.

Messieurs *Audimare* and *Dieude* had not less to do on their Side, being almost quite overcome with the Care and Pains they had continually upon them. What Increase of Affairs must this be to a Body of Magistrates, where they are oblig'd to be in a continual Hurry? Mr. *Dieude*, accompanied by others, went the two following Nights, in order to see the Dead buried, and the Sick convey'd to the Infirmaries.

Monsieur the Marquis *de Pilles*, Governor continually apply'd himself with the most inexpressible Diligence, being every Morning and Evening at the Town-House; and labour'd indefatigably to do all that lay in his Power, and what his Zeal and Prudence could inspire him withall, in Order to the well-governing the City on this said Occasion.

He found, upon searching the City-Chest, no more than Eleven Hundred Livres in *Specie*; and it was plainly seen, if the City should have the Misfortune to be truly attack'd with the Plague, all would perish for Want of Money. This oblig'd Messieurs the Sheriffs to write to Monsieur the first President, to beg that he would use his Endeavour to get some procur'd for them.

Corn, which was wanting, was rais'd to an excessive Price; and to hinder any from being hoarded up, to make it still more dear, an

an Ordinance was order'd against the hoarding up of Corn, under a severe Penalty: Two other Ordinances were issu'd out, whereby no Person should keep any Thing in the Town that might cause any Infection.

The 30th of July a general Review was made of all the Provisions in the City by the Eschevins, but they found very little either of Corn, Flesh, or Wood, and no more Money in the Chest to purchase more, than what was before mention'd, and every Thing was excessive dear; so that every Body was in the greatest Confusion and Fear. All the principal Inhabitants, that were rich and wealthy, were already fled, being alarm'd at the Misserableness of the Populace. The Sheriffs wrote to Mr. *le Pellier des Forts*, and laid before him the sad and deplorable Condition of *Marseilles*, and begg'd his Interest with his Royal Highness, that he would be pleas'd to grant them some Relief.

The 31st of July another Order was issu'd out, to oblige all the Beggars, both Dome-stick and Foreign, to go out of the Town that Day; and those that belong'd to the City to retire to the *Hospital of Charity*, on Pain of being whipp'd.

But this Order was not put in Execution, because they were inform'd the very same Day, that the Chamber of Trade of the Parliament at *Aix*, upon the Report that the Contagion was at *Marseilles*, had given out an Arret, to hinder any of the Inhabitants of the said City from going out of their Territories,

tories, or for the Inhabitants of all the Towns and Places of *Provence*, either to receive, or have any Communication with them ; and that no Coachman, or Carrier, or any others, should come from thence, on any Pretext whatsoever on Pain of Death.

In this Case, how could they force out of the Town 2 or 300 Beggars and Strangers, who could not go out of their Territories , they would be oblig'd to stay, and to plunder for their Living and Subsistence.

The 1st of *August*, Messieurs *Sicard*, Father and Son, Physicians, came to the Town-House, to acquaint the Sheriffs, That they might be satisfied that the Plague was certainly in the City, and that they would do all that lay in their Power, in order to put a Stop to it, if they would do what they should order , that is, to buy a Quantity of Wood, Vine-Stalks, and Brush, and order them to be put in little Heaps, at proper Distances, all along the City-Wall, and the Course, and the Publick Squares, Markets, and Cross-ways, and oblige every Inhabitant to put one before his House in all the Streets in general, and to light them just at Night ; which they gave out would be the most certain Method to put a Stop to the Contagion.

All the World were Witnesses of the Fallaciousness of this Experiment ; though all the other Physicians, that were assembled in the Town-House, in order to search into the Progress of the Distemper, did not in the least disapprove of it. The Sheriff's therefore bought imme-

immediately all the Wood, Brush, and Vine-Stalks they could find, and Messieurs *Audimer* and *Dieude* went in all the Heat of the Sun, to make the proper Arrangement and Disposition along the Wall, the Course, and the Publick Squares and Markets.

The Day following, being the 2d of *August*, an Order was issued out to all the Inhabitants to make the like Fires before their respective Houses, and to light them at Nine in the Evening, being the Time they lighted those upon the Wall and publick Places; and it was accordingly executed.

The Sight seem'd very magnificent, to see so vast and large an Extent of Wall all illuminated; and if the City had been cured by this Method, it had been cured in a most agreeable and joyful manner.

The Magistrates, who to content the Publick, and that they might have nothing to reproach them with, made the like Tryal; but not the least dreaming of any Success that it promised, and their Prudence soon judged how Affairs were like to go: And therefore not to trust any longer to vain Hopes, they wrote to the first President, begging, before their Road was block'd up, that he would dispatch a Courier to the Court on their Behalf, to lay before them the Misery and Want they labour'd under, being left destitute of a Penny of Money, while the City was afflicted with Plague and Famine, and thereby reduc'd to the greatest Exigency and Want of every Thing necessary to give them Relief.

They likewise ordered an Account to be given to the Council-Marine of the Number of all that were dead, and remaining sick in the Hospitals.

The same Day, in the Assembly that was held daily in the Town-House, with the Officers or Magistrates of the Corporation, and the Citizens that were not yet fled, where the Marquis *de Pille* presided, the following Regulations were agreed on :

1<sup>st</sup>, That whereas the Number of the Sick increased more and more in the Street of *Lescal-le*, a Corps *de Garde* should therefore be placed at all the Avenues belonging to the said Street, and that none should be permitted to go in or out ; but that Commissioners should be appointed to deliver to all the Families of the said Street all necessary Allowances of Provisions, in order for their Subsistence.

2<sup>dly</sup>, That all the Militia-Captains of the City should immediately set a-foot a Company of fifty Men, to be paid by the Town ; and that, in the mean time, the five Brigades of the Privilege *du Vin*, with their Officers, should serve as a Guard to Messieurs the Sheriffs, for all Expeditions at Night, for carrying away the dead Bodies, and removing the Sick into the Infirmaries.

3<sup>dly</sup>, That whereas the Physicians and Chirurgeons, now employ'd, performed their Duty with all manner of Diligence and Sincerity, without any manner of Recompence from the Afflicted, they should be paid at the City-Charge, and have Clothes made for them

them of Oil-Skin, and Chairs allowed them, whereby they might be the easier convey'd to all Parts of the City.

4thly, Seeing the Corporation had no Maney, and it was indespensably necessary to procure some at this Juncture, therefore Bills should we fix'd up in all Parts of the City, to borrow Money at twenty Deniers Interest; and so endeavour, by that means to furnish their Chest. And seeing the Treasurer could not live in the Town-House, the Sieur Bois, first Commissioner of the Archives, should be established Cashier, in order to make the daily Payments.

The 3d of *August*, Monsieur the Marquis *de Pille*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, together with the Citizens, being assembled together, established one hundred and fifty Commissaries in the five Parishes, and every one to watch the Quarter allotted them, to take care of the Poor, to distribute Bread and other Necessaries at the Charge of the City, and that they should do all that lay in their power for the Good and Welfare of the Publick.

At that part of the Town, called, *The Rive Neuve*, which is all along the Port, or Harbour, from the Port of St. *Victor* quite to the Arsenal, the Chevalier *Rose* was appointed Captain and Commissary-General: And for the Territories belonging to *Marseilles*, where they have more than ten thousand Country-Houses, and appears at a distance like a vast large Town, and which they call the *Bastides*; it has forty four Quarters or Parishes, besides

besides divers Hamlets so considerable ; that Captains and Commissaries were ordered for every one, and that they take the same care as in other Parts of the City.

The same Day all the Colleges and Schools were order'd to be shut up, in order to prevent the Distemper's being communicated by the Childrens keeping one another Company, and who are the most liable of all others to Infection.

As for the Fires of Mr. Sicard, they could no more be repeated, having neither Wood, Vine-Branches, or Brush left ; they were informed likewise, that the Physicians had deserted the City.

There being no more Fuel left, a great Quantity of Sulphur was bought, and a Quantity was distributed to the Poor in all Parts of the Town, and ordered to be burnt in all their Houses in the nature of a Perfume.

About the Evening the Marquis *de Pille*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, were again assembled at the Town-House, when they were informed four or five hundred of the Mob were got together in the new part of the Town, and made a great Disorder, crying out, *They would have Bread.* The Bakers in that part of the Town, for want of Corn, had very little Bread, and it was with a great deal of Difficulty that any could be procured. Monsieur the Marquis *de Pille* and Mr. *Monstier* ran thither immediately, followed by the Guards ; and their Presence soon put a Stop to the Fury of the Mob, and quieted

ted them in an Instant, by ordering Bread to be delivered them.

The 4th, Messieurs the Officers of the Garrison of Fort St. John, came to the Town-House, to acquaint the Magistrates they were in want of Corn, and desired them to supply their Wants, otherwise they could not be answerable if the Troops of the Garrison came into the Town, and took it by Force.

They were answered, That they would very willingly furnish them, had not the great Scarcity they labour'd under made it impossible; and if the Troops were resolved to come into the City to oppress the Inhabitants, they should find them at their Head in order to defend them.

That Day an Arret was published from the Chamber of Trade, whereby all Communication between the Inhabitants of Provence and those of *Marseilles* was forbid. If they were to continue in this Condition, and that no body could come any more to bring them Corn or other Commodities, they plainly saw they should soon be reduced to the most extream Famine: They then had recourse to the first President of the Parliament, and earnestly intreated him that a Method might be established, as formerly practised on the like Occasion, of Markets, and Offices of Conference at certain convenient Places, which should be enclosed, were Strangers might come and supply them with Necessaries for their Subsistence, without being exposed to the least Danger of Infection.

They

They at the same time begged the Concurrence of the Procureurs of *Provence*, acquainting them, That the Misery their City lay under was not to be imagin'd, and therefore hoped they would do them that Favour; and moreover hoped that the Consuls of all and particular Towns would render them what Help they could, and that *Marseilles* would never forget the Services rendered them in this great Calamity, (which required all the Dispatch and Zeal that was possible,) in order to save them from Ruin.

The same Day, duly considering the great Disorders that often happen in the Time of Contagion, the Necessity they were under of having a Power of quelling, as soon as possible, by imprisoning and making Examples of all Malefactors and Rebels: And whereas, in all other Times when this City was afflicted with the Plague, as in the Year 1580, 1630, 1649, and 1650, our Kings always granted to our Predecessors, by Letters Patents, a Power of judging all Crimes by Martial Law, without farther Appeal; they therefore wrote to the first President, to obtain of his Majesty the like Letters Patents for them.

The 5th of *August*, they repeated their Instances, in order to obtain the Favour of procuring some Bread-Corn; and they also wrote on this Subject to the Consuls of *Toulon*, and to those of all the Sea-Port Towns of *Languedoc* and *Provence*, offering to go and receive the Corn, in such a convenient Place,

Place, out of the way of the Town, as they should chuse to land it on; and begg'd the Magistrates of *Martigues* to send some Vessels to load Corn for them at *Arles*.

The 6th, an Ordinance was publish'd to require and hinder all Persons whatsoever, from conveying the Household Goods and Clothes of the Sick and Dead, out of one House to another, nor to touch or make the least Use of them, on Pain of Death.

Another Order was issued, settling the Rate of Provisions and Commodities, in order to lower the excessive Price they then bore, by Reason of the great Want and Scarcity, and of those Villains that would make their Market of a Publick Calamity.

The 7th of *August*, the Chamber of Trade having permitted the Procureurs of *Provence*, to have a Conference with Messieurs the Sheriffs, at a Place in the Road to *Aix*, call'd *Notre Dame*; distant from *Marseilles* about 2 Leagues; Monsieur the Marquis de *Vauvenarques*, the first Procureur of the Province, came, attended with a great Number of Gentlemen, and principal Officers of that Province, escort-  
ed by the Marshal *de Villars*' Guards, and a Brigade of the Archers of *Morechauſſe*. A Town afflicted, or under Suspicion of the Plague, and from whence most of the chief Inhabitants had taken their Flight, could no ways compliment the Honour was done them; therefore Mr. *Estelle*, the first Eschevin, came thither without any Train or Followers, or Guard, only the Sieur *Capus* Keeper of the Re-

cords, who for his Ability and Probity, and his Application and Diligence, was as the chief Helm or Rudder of their Community.

At this Conference, Precaution was taken to speak at a Distance; an Agreement was pass'd, That a Market should be establish'd in that Place, where they should make a double Barrier, and another at the Mutton-Lodge in the Road to *Arbagne*, two Leagues also from *Marseilles*; and another for the Barks, at a Creek call'd *Lastague*, in the Gulph of the Isles of *Marseilles*; that in all these Markets, the Barriers Guards should be plac'd by Messieurs the Procureurs, and pay'd by the Sheriffs.

The 8th, the Agreement was approv'd of by an Arret of the Chamber of Trade. Messieurs the Sheriffs upon this wrote to all the Consuls of the Towns and Places of *Provence*, in order to excite them to send forthwith Grain, Wood, Coal, and other Commodities, to the several Markets appointed, where every Thing might be negotiated, without any Communication. They apply'd themselves the same Day, to draw out a general Instruction, where was particularly express'd the Functions that belong'd to the Commissaries that were already establish'd in all the Parishes and Quarters of the City, in order for the Relief of the Poor, and for looking after the Sick.

And whereas it was plainly seen, that it would be impossible, that Messieurs *Estelle* and *Moustier*, who were continually employ'd alternately every Night, in seeing the dead Bodies

Bodies interr'd, and the Sick, and those that were suspected, carried into the Infirmaries, and walling up, and purifying their Houses, could hold up much longer under so great a Fatigue ; but above all, since the Distemper began to creep into different Quarters of the City far distant, although Messieurs *Audimar* and *Dieude* offer'd to relieve them : The Marquiss *de Pille* judging it absolutely necessary that particular Care should be taken for the Health and Safety of every one, order'd the following Regulation in the Assembly.

1. That Tumrels should be provided to carry off the Dead, and that all the sturdy Beggars and Vagabonds they could find, should be feiz'd, and made to serve as Porters, and that four Lieutenants of Health should be order'd to conduct them ; and that the Sieur *Bonnet*, Lieutenant *de Viguer*, should be employ'd to command them.

2. That they should incessantly work, to open spacious and deep Ditches out of the Walls of the City, there to bury the dead Bodies with Quick-Lime.

3. That they should establish, with all Diligence, a Pest-House, and they cast their Eyes upon the Hospital of Charity, in order to carry the Sick there ; but there being near 800 poor Creatures of both Sexes at that Time sick, they should be oblig'd to take the

*Hospital of Convalescens*, which was near the Walls of the Town, on the Side where was the Gate of *Bernard du Bois*.

The 9th of August, it was perceiv'd that almost all the Physicians and Master Chirurgeons were fled, an Order was issued out to require and oblige them to return; the first on Pain of being excluded for ever from the Faculty, and the others should lose their Right and Freedom, and to be prosecuted in an extraordinary manner.

Another Order was issued out, whereby all Butchers were order'd in fleasing their Beef and Mutton in the Slaughter-House, That they did not blow it with their Mouth, least the Plague might, by that Means, be conveyed to the Food, but to make use of Bellows, on Pain of Death.

Another Order was, for all the Bakers to make Biscuit of all the Flower that was deliver'd to them from the City for Bread for the Poor, and to make no White Bread, that thereby they might prevent the taking the finest Part of the Flower from the Meal, that was order'd for that Bread. And likewise another Order was publish'd, requiring all Persons to turn the Publick Water that us'd to water the Fields, into the City, that the Fountains might not be dry'd up, and that Water might run more abundantly through all the Streets of the City, and carry off the Filth and Nastiness,

That Day, and the following, all that was agreed upon the Day before, was executed,  
but

but with a great deal of Difficulty. There must be Tumbrels, Horses, and Harness: They must go into the Country to find them, and not a Soul would consent to serve as a Porter to carry off the Dead. There must be People to put the Horses to the Carts, and to drive them, but every one abhor'd the undertaking such an Employment, where the Service was so dangerous. There must be Porters to go and take out the dead Bodies from the Houses; and tho' an excessive Reward was offer'd, yet the most miserable Wretches flew from an Undertaking so perillous, and made terrible Efforts to avoid it. There must be Peasants to open their Ditches, and none would come to work, out of the Fear and Dread they had upon them. Messieurs the Sheriff's were oblig'd to a great deal of Trouble to accomplish it, which at last they overcame, some by their good Address, and others by Force and Rigor. To put the Hospital into a fit Condition so suddenly, and to see after every Thing that was necessary, which was almost endless, was not truly an Embarrassment less full of Trouble and Fatigue. The *Hospital of Curables*, or *Convalescens*, which they had pitch'd upon to serve on this Occasion, was not found big enough; therefore it must be enlarg'd by some Houses of the City that were contiguous to it. A Thousand Things they found to do, and in the mean Time could not order how it should be done: Mr. *Moustier* was oblig'd to go, and stay there himself, and make them work Night and Day so hard

hard, that in twice 24 Hours he had dispos'd every Thing in order, and made it ready, and properly furnish'd to receive the Sick.

For to have a good Oeconomy among the Officers of the Infirmary, the Cooks and other inferior Officers ; and above all, the great Number of People that were order'd to serve the Sick, made it an Affair very difficult : They had therefore Papers pasted up every where, to endeavour to excite their Souls to a Belief, that Avarice would throw them into the greatest Peril and Jeopardy ; and that now a more than ordinary Charity ought to be devoted to the Publick, and by Virtue of looking out, and giving good Words and Money, and promising fair, they attain'd their End : The Apothecary's Shop and Chirurgery were establish'd, Two Physicians that were Strangers, call'd the Sieurs *Gayon*, came of their own accord, and offer'd their Service, and to be shut up ; but Death, to our great Misfortune, too soon put an End to their Charity and Zeal.

Three Ditches of Ten Toises, or sixty Foot in Length and Breadth, and Twenty-four Foot deep, were, in the mean Time, open'd, out of the Walls, between the Gates of *Aix*, and that of *Joliette*.

But to bring this about, and to constrain the Peasants to work, Mr. *Moustier* was oblig'd to go and stay there himself, expos'd to the Heat of the Sun, from one Dawning of the Day to the other.

The Sieur Chevalier *Rose*, who was appointed Captain and Commissary-General at the *Rive Neuve* all along the Harbour, at the same time did the like thing; he fitted up another vast Hospital under the Vaults of a Rope-yard, and ordered great and deep Ditches to be opened on the Side of the Abbey of St. *Victor*, got together Tumbrels, Porters, and all other Persons necessary to look after the Living, the Dying, and the Dead; and what is still more remarkable, by his Activity, Courage, and Zeal for his unfortunate Country, he furnished that Hospital with all Things necessary at his own Charge, and so many Persons as were necessary were kept on foot by his own Money, without giving himself the least Trouble how and when he should be reimbursed the same.

No sooner were these Pest-Houses fit to receive the Infected, but that they were filled intirely in less than two Days. In truth, those that were carried did not tarry there any long time; the Distemper was so violent, that those who entered in the Evening, were thrown the next Day into the Ditches, and the Hospitals were a Repository but for a Moment: The Dead every Day successively made place for others that were newly infected.

The 12th of *August*, Messieurs *Chicognane* and *Verny*, first Physicians of *Montpelier*, arrived at the Barrier of *Notre-Dame*, to come and examine by Order of his Royal Highness, the true Nature and Quaiity of the Distemper

Distemper the Town was then afflicted with, and they sent Coaches to take them and convey them into the City.

The 13th Monsieur the Marquis *de Pille*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, desired their Company at the Town House, where they had summoned all the Physicians and Master-Chirurgeons of the City; they all came, and after they had conferred a long time on the Symptoms of the Distemper, they concluded to go together the Day following, to visit not only those that were infected in the Hospital, but likewise the Sick in all the other Parts of the City, and to make all the Experiments that should be necessary.

Till that time the Distemper had not displayed itself with all its Fierceness, nor exercised all its Fury; it killed most that were attacked with it, without giving quarter hardly to any one; and at those Houses where once it enter'd, it made a Sweep of all, from the least to the greatest. But yet the Populace would not believe, but fed themselves up with false Ideas, that it was not truly the Plague, and that it proceeded from the great Misery and Want of the Inhabitants, and from the bad Provisions they were forced to live upon. The Sea-faring People, who had often seen the Plague in the *Levant*, believed it to be the Plague, but to be different from what they had seen. In short, many Persons were yet in doubt, and waited, with the greatest Earnestness, the Decision of the Physicians of *Montpelier*, in order

order to make their Choice either of staying, or flying away.

The 14th Messieurs the Sheriffs wrote to the Council-Marine, to return their most humble Thanks to his Royal Highness, for the great Regard and Goodness he had shewn them in sending these Physicians.

The 15th they wrote to Monsieur the Marshal *de Villars*, the State and extream Misery of the City, and that they had near an hundred thousand poor Souls, without Goods, Bread, or Money to assist them. They wrote also to Mr. *de Benage*, Intendant of *Languedoc*, and to Monsieur the Marquis *de Caylus*, Commander in that part of *Frorence* that lies towards *Montpelier*, to beg of him to procure them some Bread-Corn to keep them from Famine, which they had not less reason to fear than the Plague.

The Marquis *de Caylus*, out of his great Goodness, interested himself so earnestly for them, that he furnished them with a considerable Credit, to procure Corn.

The 16th being the Feast of St. *Roch*, who, being the Tutelar Saint in order to preserve all Cities from the Plague, was always solemnized with the greatest Pomp and Magnificence at *Marseilles*: But the Marquis *de Pille*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, in order to hinder the farther Communication of the Distemper, by the prodigious Number of People of all sorts that used to accompany the same, but especially now when the People were almost devoured with blind Zeal,

forbid the usual pompous Procession, with the Busto and the other Reliques of the Saint. But they were obliged, in some measure, to comply with the Clamour of the Populace, who now lay under the Fear of so terrible a Scourge as the Plague, which had been already seen, and its dire Effects were continually representing themselves to them in the most horrible manner: Therefore they found it highly necessary, in order to hinder Disorder or Confusion, to attend the same themselves with all the Halberdiers and Guards, in order to hinder any one from following the same.

The next Day, being the 17th, the Physicians of *Montpelier* came to the Town-House, and gave an account of what they knew of the Distemper, and declared, in a few words, That it was truly the Plague.

But seeing that all the People of Fashion were already gone out of the Town, and that the Terror and Apprehension of the same had put all things into the greatest Disorder, they thought it convenient not to augment their Fears, but to dissemble a little, and thereby quiet and calm the Spirits of the People: They therefore fix'd up Bills in the publick Places, wherein they gave out, that the Distemper was not any other but a contagious Fever, proceeding from the bad Provisions, which they did not doubt would soon cease by the Succours they should have in a little time from all Parts, which would make a Plenty of every thing that might be necessary.

This Publication was fix'd as soon as possible, but without effect; the Mortality, which raged,

raged, had augmented considerably in these few Days; the Malignity and Violence by which it knock'd at the Doors on all sides, and the Subtilty with which it was perceived to communicate itself, had now convinced the most Obstinate, and those that were the most unwilling to be deceived, that it was truly the Plague, and it was impossible to make them believe any other. Every one that could, took his sudden Flight, so that the Gates of the City were hardly sufficient to let out the prodigious Number of People who flocked thither upon this Occasion.

If it had been the useless Mouths that went away, nothing would have been more convenient and comfortable; but the Persons that were most necessary, and those indispensably to remain in the City, were the first that deserted it; almost all the Magistrates of Health, those of the *Bureau d' Abundance*, the Judges of the City, and the Judges of the Palace or the Civil Government, the Rectors of all the Hospitals, and all Houses and other charitable Works: and even the Commissaries themselves, who were new come, and but a few Days past established in the different Quarters and Parishes of the City, in order to relieve the Poor.

The Workmen of all manner of Trades, and those that were the most necessary for Life, the Sellers of Flesh-Meat, and other Provisions left the Town; nay, even those run away that were ordered as a Guard to hinder the others from making their Escape;

the Captains and other Militia-Officers deserted with their whole Companies: In short, every body of the better Sort abandoned the City, and fled: So that Monsieur the Marquis *de Pille*, and the Sheriffs, remained alone to govern a prodigious Populace, that were ready to undertake any thing by the Extremity they found themselvs reduced to, by the Misery and Calamity which increased with the Distemper.

The Prospect of the City already excited Compassion, having all the Air of Desolation; all the Magazines, all the Shops were in general shut up; and most part of the Houles, the Churches, and Convents; all the publick Markets were deserted, and not any People in the Street but poor dying Wretches. The Harbour was in the greatest Disorder; the Gallies were retired from the Key, and shut up with a strong Stacade on the Side of the Arsenal, where all the Bridges were drawn up, and high Barriers placed; and the Merchant-Ships and other Vessels cut their Cables, and set themselves adrift.

Thus Proud *Marsailles*, which was but a few Day past so flourishing, and which enjoy'd the greatest Plenty of every thing that should make one happy, was now no other than the true Image of *Jerusalem* in its Desolation; and the Plague, which then began to rage, had in less than Fifteen Days, made here the most dismal Theatre, by the most terrible and frightful Ravages that ever were in any City of the World,

The 18th of August a Multitude of People, from the Quarter of St John, came to the Town-House, crying out, *That they wanted Wine, and that there was no Body in the City that would sell any.* The Guard was immediately put in a Posture of Defence; Mr. Estelle and Mr. Moustier arriving there soon appeas'd them, by promising to procure some for them: And to that end an Order was given out, *That all those that had any Wine in their Vaults, should bring it forth to be sold every Day, otherwise their Vaults should be searched, and their Wine sold by the Guards, who should make the strictest Enquiry possible for the same in all the different Quarters of the City.*

The Contagion had, by this Time, diffus'd itself, and gain'd Ground every where, notwithstanding all the Care and Pains that had been taken to hinder its Communication. The Infection began now to wax warm, and ravage every where, notwithstanding all possible Care was taken to carry off the dead Bodies, by having always ready, upon the Pavement, a good Number of Carts and Porters for that end.

But, alas! All that had been done prov'd ineffectual, and it was impossible to continue it any longer, there being no more People to be found that would ingage in so perilous a Work, for they scarcely liv'd Two Days; for upon touching the dead Body with the greatest Precaution, with a Hook with a long Handle, yet the Plague immediately communicated it-self;

self; nay, only coming near the dead Bodies, the noxious and pestiferous Effluvia's immediately infected them.

They gave all that would assist, 15 Livres a-day; but do what they wou'd, they cou'd not make the Beggars, nor other poor People, in the least, to come nigh the dead Bodies, by reason of inevitable Death that attended them in that perilous Employment: Strict Search was made, in order to bring them by main Force, but all in vain, for they were all either dead, or so well conceal'd, that no one could be found, so that the dead Bodies remain'd, some in the Houses, others at the Gates of the Hospitals, in great Piles, one upon another, without any to carry them away, and throw them into the Ditches.

What was to be done in this great Extremity? The Sheriffs had Recourse to the Officers of the Gallies, and made pressing Instances to them, that they would allow them some Galley-Slaves, to serve as Porters to carry off the Dead, and engag'd to indemnify them, on the Part of his Majesty for the same.

They had the Goodness to have regard to their pressing Necessities, and order'd them 26 Invalids, to whom they promis'd their Liberty, in order to make them work.

They agreed, that a Part of the Officers of Health, should accompany these Galley-Slaves, in order to hinder any Disorder that might happen; and that the Sheriffs, who were almost worn out with Fatigues, and left without

without any Person that they could trust to, were oblig'd almost to as great Hardship, as if they had been Porters themselves.

These poor Slaves were abandon'd by all, and in Want of every Thing ; they wanted Shoes : There were, at that Time, neither Shoes nor Shoemaker in the whole City. They wanted both Food and Lodging, for no Body would either see, speak, or come near these poor Creatures, that were now the Bearers of the pestiferous Bodies.

It was necessary, Night and Day, for every Body to be upon their Guard, for these miserable Wretches, in whatever House they enter'd to take the dead Bodies, they certainly pillag'd and robb'd it before they left the same, and they knew neither how to put the Horses to their Carts, nor how to drive them, so that they were turn'd over every Moment, thereby breaking to Pieces the Harness and all that belong'd to it, without being ever able to mend them again, because there was neither Bridler, Sadler, or Cartwright in the whole Town : For no Body would touch those Things that were infected, therefore they were continually in search, in the Country, for other Carts, and which every one had, at this Time, diligently conceal'd, and left them, by that Means, under the most pressing Difficulties that it was possible for People to labour under. And these Slaves did their Business with so much Slowness, and Laziness, that it was enough to make one mad.

In what City of the World, was it ever known, that the Consuls and Chief Magistrates of the City, were oblig'd to undergo such Fatigues as those of *Marseille*, who were reduc'd, more than once, to sacrifice themselves in the most hazardous and perilous Offices? For in a little Time they were oblig'd to go with these Galley-Slaves, in order to see them carry away the dead, putrified, and pestiferous Bodies; which they had not the Heart to do, till the Sheriffs put themselves at their Head, and went themselves first where the Infection was the most horrible, in order to bring off the dead Bodies.

Mr. *Moustier* was the most employ'd in this Affair, daily for near Two Months. At Break of Day, he was oblig'd to go in order to see the Horses put into the Carts, and thereby hindering them from breaking the Harness; and to follow them to the Ditch-side, that the Bodies might be directly thrown in, and not left on the Bank; and in the Evening he was to see the Horses taken out of the Carts, and conducted to their Stables, and the Harness safely reposed in a Place where they might find them the next Day, in order to prevent any Inconveniences which might interrupt the Continuation of a Work wherein there was so much Danger in its Delay. The Ancient *Roman* Consuls, who were esteem'd to have so much Love for their Country, could never be inspir'd with such Zeal as this.

The 19th of August Persons were chosen in every Parish, who had the Charge of making Broth for the Sick, and to deliver it out to them, and established a particular Hospital, which would be absolutely necessary, in case the Plague should rage after the most grievous manner that could be imagined.

Abundance of Women that gave Suck died of the Contagion, and left great Numbers of sucking Infants which were found groaning in their Cradles, when they came to take away the dead Bodies of their Mothers. No body would receive these poor Babes, and much less nourish, or succour them; all Compassion in this time of the Plague, was no more; and the Dread of that horrible Distemper, had stifled all Sentiments of Charity, and even of Humanity itself: so that these poor little Innocents, which were found on all sides, as well as other unfortunate Infants under Age, which the Plague had render'd Orphans, must inevitably perish: They therefore took the Hospital of St. James of *Gallicia*, and the Convent of the Fathers of *Loretto*, which they found empty, either by Death, or by the Flight of all the Religious of the same; and there these poor Creatures were order'd to be nursed with Soop and Goat's Milk. The Number of these unhappy Creatures was so great, that though there died 30 or 40 a Day, yet, by the continual Supply of others, which were every day brought in, they were never less than 12 or 1300.

The 20th, Part of the Slaves which we had two Days before from the Gallies, were infected with the Plague, and thereby unable to work. The Magistrates went therefore again to the Officers, to beg their Assistance by another Supply, who immedately granted them 33 more. That Day almost all the Millers and Bakers were found to give over working, by reason all their Journey-men had left their Service, and fled away. An Ordinance was publish'd, to require, and constrain those Deserters to return back to their respective Masters on pain of Death. All the Masons were fled, not one to be found; and as there was a great deal of plastering Work to be done to the Hospitals, and other Work to the Church-yards, the like Ordinance was issued out for them to return, and another to hinder all Meal and baked Bread, order'd for the Subsistance of the Poor, from being carried out of the City, on pain of a severe Penalty and Confiscation.

The 21st of August, the Plague began to rage now with so much Violence, and the Number of Death they found to encrease so prodigiously upon them all at once, that they consider'd, that it would be intirely impossible, that the Tumrels could come to all Places to take up the Dead, in order to carry them to the Ditches out of the Town; for the Carts could no way go to the high Quarter of St. John, nor into many other Places of the old Town, by reason of the Narrowness of the Streets, and these

these Streets being inhabited by a prodigious Throng of the Scum of the People, they therefore abounded with the greatest Number of dead Bodies : the Ditches that were made out of the Town, were so far distant, that do all they could, it was impossible to carry off the Dead from those Places, so that they would be forced to leave them behind, and thereby a general Infection would be caus'd, which would fill the Air with pestiferous Atoms.

Under these great and many Difficulties and Embarrassments that they laboured under, the Advice of a number of judicious Persons were extremely necessary : To that end, Monsieur the Marquis *de Pille*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, begg'd the general Officers of the Gallies would meet them in the Town-House, where they came to the following Resolutions,

1. For the Reasons already observ'd, as well as to avoid the fatal Inconveniences that would attend the least Delay in carrying off the Dead, they shall for the future not only bury them in the Ditches out of the Walls, but likewise in the Vaults of the religious *Jacobins*, those of the *Observatins*, of the *Carmelites*, and of *Loretto* ; for those Churches were situated in those high Parts of the City where there were the most dead Bodies. And where the Tumbrels could not come for them, they should have a sort of Litters made, by which the Bodies should be conveyed away by the Slaves. That there should

be provided for every Vault, a Pipe of Quick-Lime, and a *French* Barrel of Water to throw into the Vaults upon the dead Bodies; and when it should be full, it shou'd be so well cemented up, that the least Infection could not exhale.

2. That a Man of Probity, and one that might be confided in, be order'd, with a Guard of Horse at the Head of the Carts, and of every Brigade of Galley-Slaves, in order to make them work diligently, and thereby hinder them from pillaging and plundering.

3. That in order to avoid any Infection that may exhale from the Ditches and other Burrying-Places of the City, for want of a due Quantity of Earth, and Quick-Lime, being thrown in, a most exact Review shall be taken by the aforesaid Person, that every thing be done that is necessary.

4. That seeing that Commissaries were wanting in several Parishes, and Quarters of the City, for as much as they had fled and abandon'd the same, and no fit Persons could be found to place in their Rooms, therefore every Convent should be obliged to provide a Religious, to serve a Commissary in those Quarters where they were unprovided.

5. That for hindering the Communication of the Distemper, the Bishop should order all publick Worship to cease in the Churches.

6. That in order to terrify and keep the Populace within Bounds, Gallows should

be erected in all the publick Places of the City.

The Day following, being the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, Messieurs the Sheriffs gave an Account to the Council-Marine of the Increase of the Distemper, and begged of them to agree, that all publick Business might from henceforth be suspended, because at this Time nothing ought to take up one's Thoughts but what regarded Health: When the Plague raged so violently in a City, that every one regarded it as little less than the Agony of Death, no Body was in a Condition to apply himself to any Thing, but that which tended to their Preservation.

In the mean Time every Thing was wanting in the Town, even those Things which were the most common. No more Linen-Cloth could be found to make their Straw-Beds for the Hospitals, although they made diligent Search, but in vain, in all the Magazines and Shops of the City. The Noise of the Plague had now spread it self to all Parts of the World, and they were obliged to write to Monsieur the first President, that he would send them all that he could find at *Aix*, and at the same Time, that he would supply them with Shoes for the poor Galley-Slaves, for they had never a Shoemaker in *Marseilles* to make any.

Without the Supports which he had the Goodness to give Messieurs the Sheriffs; and the great Regard he had to their pressing Necessities,

cessities, in assisting them with all Things necessary ; they certainly would have suffered Thousands of Inconveniences more than they did.

Two or three Times a Day they took the Liberty to write to him, and always for something very fatiguing ; and he, according to his natural Goodness, provided them with every Thing, and did those Things for them which was a great deal below his Office. And though he himself was not immediately on the Spot occupied in looking after the Sick Night and Day in this unhappy City, yet he took care of one to supply his Place, by the Person of Mr. Rigord his Sub-Delegate, who acted with so much Zeal, Application, and Vigour ; who though he had the Plague in his own House, which took away his Spouse, his Family, his Commissioner, and all his Domesticks, without being Thunder-struck, or moved with all its Horrors, could not draw one moment of Time from his continual Application in his Labour, to assist the pressing Necessities of this afflicted City.

That Day, Advice was brought, that a great many Bakers, to cover the better their Evasion, had left their Ovens to their Journeymen, who signified no more than a Cypher, an Ordinance was immediately issued out ordering them immediately to return, and take possession of their Ovens, and not to stir from them upon pain of Death. Another Ordinance was publish'd, requiring all the Intendants of Health, those of the Markets,

kets, the City-Counsellors, and all other municipal Officers, to return in twenty four hours, on the penalty of one thousand Livres Fine, and to be made incapable for ever after of any municipal Charge or Office.

The same Day the Bishop, whom the Marquis *de Pille* had acquainted with the Resolutions they agreed to, the Day before in Council, put forth a Letter, wherein he gave divers Reasons for opposing that part which related to the burying of the dead Bodies in the Vaults of the Churches and Convents appointed for that Use.

Upon which the Marquis *de Pille* having desired the General Officers of the Gallies, the Sheriffs, and some other zealous Citizens to meet in the Town-House; and after having well weighed and considered all the Reasons therein contained, and with those that they had agreed on, to carry the dead Bodies into the Vaults of the Churches and Convents, they found it absolutely necessary to adhere firmly to them, and thereupon unanimously agreed to stand by the same; but that they should suspend the Execution twenty four hours, to see if, in that time, the Mortality decreased, so that they might do it without it; but that, in the mean time, all Diligence should be used to get all the Vaults in the Churches ready, by carrying all the Water and Quick-Lime to each of them that was necessary.

The 23d, going to work, they found all the Churches shut up, and the Religious refused to open their Doors; upon which Mr. *Monstier* ordered them to be broke open, and made them bring all the Barrels of Water and Lime that was necessary. In order to make the Litters, there must be a Joiner; therefore he made the first he could find to work upon the same: for every body's Service was required on these pressing Occasions.

This Day was so far from diminishing the Mortality, that almost a thousand Persons died; so that there was no longer any Hesitation to be made in entering the Churches, and that otherwise they should find themselves so overcharged with the Number of dead Bodies, that it would be impossible to remove them in time.

They disposed every thing in order, that they could, to work the next Morning; and the Officers of the Galleys had the Goodness to reinforce them with 20 more of their Slaves.

The Day following, being the 24<sup>th</sup> of *August*, that they might use all Diligence, and not be any Ways remiss in their Work, on account of the Horror and Danger of Death, Mr. *Monsteir* went himself, pressing and animating the Slaves, as well by his Intrepidity and Courage, as by his Actions: And when the Vaults were full, he saw the Water and Lime necessary thrown in, and then took particular Care that the Mouths of the Vaults should

should be so well stopt and cemented, that it was impossible for any thing to exhale.

The Marquiss *de Pille*, and the other Sheriffs, in the mean time, were taken up, in examining strictly whether all their other Resolutions were duly executed.

They establish'd the most trusty People they could find, to go on Horse-back, with the Guards, at the head of the Tumbrels, and every Brigade of Slaves : But these would no longer undergo this perillous Work ; and in a little time they themselves were obliged to officiate in their place.

There was now no farther occasion to desire the Bishop, that all Ecclesiastical Functions might cease, for they were now all in general shut up : they had now no more Masses, no more Administrations of the Sacraments, no more tinkling of their Bells ; all the Ecclesiasticks were fled, and even part of the Curates themselves. As for the Religious, there were none to be found to act as Commissaries, in the different Quarters where they were unprovided ; some were deserted, and some were dead, and there were not so many left, as was necessary to confess the Sick. There was only Father *Milay*, a Jesuit, who thought he could never do too much, being fill'd with Zeal and fervent Charity, which always animated him ; he came and offer'd to take upon him the Charge of Commissary of the Street of *Lescle*, and all the Parts about it, a Quarter which no body durst take, by reason it was the Seat where

the Plague rag'd the most violently, and the Avenues leading to that Place were barricaded by Guards, to hinder any Person from going in or out. They establish'd this Father, who, from the beginning of the Contagion, was daily confessing the Infected. In short, he did such Acts of Piety, as were more than Heroick. But the Plague did not spare him long.

They likewise went to make a Review of the Ditches and Church-yards, a Spectacle truly horrible to behold, and dangerous to approach; all the vast Number of pestiferous dead Bodies, which were actually cast in, and were, as yet, uncovered, lying, by thousands in Heaps, one upon another.

At other Times, the Governours and Consuls, during the time of Contagion, remained shut up in the Town-House with the greatest Precaution; all those that had the Government of the Town, and were afflicted with the Plague, were ordered to go out, judging it to be necessary, that the Magistrates should be more careful of their Lives and Health than any other.

Here whilst the Plague raged, the Marquiss *de Pille's* and the Sheriffs chief and only Care was preserving the Lives of others, exposing and sacrificing their own in every respect, without the least Regard to themselves; and they were Night and Day on the pav'd Stones: and every where, where they saw any Danger, their Care was to remove the rest as far from it as possible.

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The Marquis *de Pille* had so little Regard for himself, that he let them establish the principal Pest-House (which was that of *Curables*) not above four Paces from his Palace. Mr. *Estelle* went with so little Fear in the Night-time, in order to carry off the dead Bodies in the Street of *Lescalle*, which were piled on the Pavement, that he hardly wanted the breadth of a Finger, of being surrounded with some of those pestiferous Bodies that lay just before him.

Mr. *Monstier*, in like manner, made light of Dangers that would make others quake and tremble; viz. an Emplaster, reeking hot, with the *Pus* of a malignant Bubo, which was thrown out of a Window, and fell upon his Face, and stuck to his Cheek; he loos'd it with all the Coolness imaginable, and did nothing but dry up the Nastiness with a Sponge dipt in Vinegar, and that without making him to draw one Pace backward, or hindering him from undergoing the like Accidents that might happen for the future.

The 25th of *August*, the Heat of the Plague was in all the four Parts of the City, and was now come to its full Fury and Height; and from this time, to the end of *September*, continued to rage with the same Impetuosity, destroying every where, overturning and ruining in every Place, and killing every day more than a thousand Persons. Its Violence made its most vigorous Attack

amongst the Populace, and its Fury carried off Thousands at a time.

The Consequence of this was, that the Pest-Houses were not sufficient to receive all the poor sick Creatures ; they therefore determin'd to make a new one that should be more commodious. But they had no Edifice, either within or without the City, spacious and big enough for that purpose ; therefore, according to the Advice of the Physicians of *Montpelier*, they resolv'd to make one in the *Mall* which is out of the Beggars Gate, next to the Convent of the *Augustins Réformées*, with Wood-Work, and cover'd with coarse thick Calico Cloth. A new Embarrassment for the Sheriffs ! to have the Care of building such an Hospital, without being able to call to their Aid or Assistance any one, or without having any Workman ; for all in general had taken their flight.

The 26th, the Chamber or Board of Trade understood that almost all the Bakers had deserted *Marseilles* ; and, being very willing to prevent the great Extremity this poor City would be reduced to for want of Bread at this time, they order'd an Arret, enjoining all Bakers and Millers that had gone away, to return immediately on pain of Death ; and wrote to the Consuls of all such Places where they had absconded, to discover them, and send them back, upon penalty of a severe Fine, and other Punishments. All the Retailers and Hucksters had shut up their Shops, and the People had no where to

go to buy the common Necessaries of Life : they were therefore required to open them again in twenty-four Hours, otherwise they should be broke open.

The 27th, the Board of Trade being sensibly touch'd with the miserable Condition of *Marseilles*, and what the poor People were forced to suffer, order'd all the Handicrafts-Men, Merchants, and Warehouse-Men, to open their Shops and Warehouses in 24 Hours on pain of Death.

The same Day the Marquis *de Pille*, who from the beginning of the Contagion was every day at the Town-House, and whose Zeal carried him wherever he found the most Danger and Difficulty, without the least Regard of his Life, was at last obliged to give place to the great Fatigues he had so long undergone, and fell so ill, that he could not go out of his Palace. The Fear of losing a Gouvernour and a Magistrate, whose Name, Person, and Merit were so much esteem'd in *Marseilles*, put every one in the greatest Consternation.

The 28th. The Plague every day redoubled its cruel Ravages, and all the City now seem'd no other than a vast Church-yard ; and nothing now was offer'd to your sight, but the sad Spectacle of dead Bodies piled one upon another in Heaps in every part.

In this sad and deplorable Estate, thousands of things were to be done, and a thousand things necessary to be provided, and no Person to help them. The People of their own Ter-

Territories were deaf to every thing that was ask'd them ; they could by no means persuade them to bring them any more Straw to make Beds for the Sick in the Hospitals, nor Hay for the Horses that drew the Carts. The Sheriffs seeing that nothing was to be done but by Force, begg'd the first President to assist them with some hundreds of Regular Troops.

Then they went to the Officers of the Galleys, to remonstrate to them what was necessary to be done for the common Safety ; acquainting them, that most of the Galley-Slaves they had already granted them were dead, and that the Number of the dead Bodies was so excessively increas'd upon them, that it was morally impossible to remove them, without they had the Goodness to allow them a sufficient Number of Slaves to perform it at once.

Monsieur the Commander *Rance*, Lieutenant-General commanding the Galleys, was so sensibly touch'd with the deplorable Condition that *Marseilles* was now in, together with Mr. *Vancresson* Intendant ; and all the other General Officers, which composed a truly Noble and Eminent Body, were so sensible that all would perish without Assistance, that they upon all Occasions shew'd their good Intentions for the common Good ; and that not only in assisting them with their Slaves, but were ready to sacrifice their own Lives. But they had not as yet received any Order from the Council Marine, which made it the more difficult to grant so great a Number

ber of Slaves, as were at that time requisite; wherefore they could not let them have above 80, and that with a Protestation it must be the last Succours they could grant, neither could they answer giving them any more.

This Protestation gave the Sheriffs a great deal of Uneasiness, and obliged them more than ever to labour, to make the Slaves work all that was possible. Mr. *Monstier* was not content to have only the tiresome Fatigue of providing Lodging and Subsistence for them, and to go in the Morning to put them to work with the Tumbrels; but put himself at the Head of the greatest Company of them, and guided them directly to those Places which were most inaccessible, and where there were the greatest Heaps of dead putrified Bodies, and encouraged them to carry them away, either whole, or by Piece-meal.

They wrote in the mean time to the Council Marine, to beseech his Royal Highness that he would give them Orders to assist them all that was possible; and in the mean time, that as the Town was in want of every thing, having no Flesh-meat to make any Broth for the Sick, and the Famine destroying those that the Plague spared, he would order the neighbouring Provinces to send them some Subsistence for the poor People.

The 29th of *August* many Orders were issued out, requiring,

(1.) That

(1.) That all the Scavengers of the Streets that had deserted the Town since the Contagion; (out of fear that they should be made Bearers of the Dead, and by that means the Streets of the City were for two Months left full of Dung and Ordure, which stagnated, and thereby became Pestiferous) should return immediately on pain of Death.

(2.) That of all the Houses whence they threw into the Streets the Coverlids, Straw-Beds, Blankets, Wearing Apparel and old Rags which were used for the Infected, (that the Passages should not be shut up) an Order was issued, to oblige every one to bring them to the publick Places, and there burn them immediately, on pain of Imprisonment.

(3.) Seeing the Corn which the Vessels bring from the Barrier of *Lestaque*, could not be carry'd to the Magazines for want of Porters, an Order was issued out, requiring all those in the Territories belonging to the Place, to quit their Dwelling-places, and come into the City to their Assistance, on pain of Death; and 3000 Livres Fine for any one who should give Protection to any of the Peasants, in order to retain them from coming.

For want of Asses, and their Drivers, the Bakers could not have Wood brought; to remedy which Inconvenience, an Order was issued out, that all Owners of Asses should return on pain of Death.

The same Day the Board of Trade were inform'd, that the Intendants of Health, and the Commissaries that were establish'd for the dif-

different Quarters, who had deserted, did not obey the Order of the Sheriffs, nor ever came back: An Arret was immediately issued out, that they should forthwith return to their different Functions, on pain of Death.

All these Arrets and Ordinances were always publish'd by Sound of Trumpet, and were also fix'd up in all the Cross-ways and Publick Places of the City, as well as in all the different Quarters of the Territory. But all with little or no effect: The Fear of the Plague was so strong and terrible, that a Cannon itself could not sooner vanquish them. So that it was impossible for any Heart to keep up against all the horrid and frightful Spectacles, which were continually presented before their Eyes in this unfortunate City: and the Fury of this dreadful Scourge seem'd to threaten the general Extirpation of all the Inhabitants of *Marseilles*, and to render its vast Circumference (fill'd with Putrefaction and Venon) afterwards uninhabitable to the rest of Mankind.

On what side soever you cast your Eyes, you might see all the Streets spread over on both sides with dead Bodies, which were almost putrified, and very horrible and frightful to behold.

As the Number of the Slaves were very insufficient to work daily in the Houses, and to take Care to remove the dead Bodies from the several Quarters of the City, they were therefore obliged oftentimes to stay a whole Week; and they would have stay'd longer,

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if the Stench had not dispers'd it self, and thereby infected the Neighbours, who could not do otherwise for their own Preservation, than remove those afar off, that had died of the Plague ; they therefore made this Tryal themselves, *viz.* to go and take them from their Apartments, and drag them upon the broad Stones. They went and took them with Hooks fastend at the End of a long Line, and so dragg'd them into the Streets : They did this in the Night-time, to be more at Liberty to remove them as far as possible, from their own Houses, and left them extended before the Doors of others ; which made them tremble, the Morning following, to see such frightful Objects, which were infectious, and brought Horror and Death along with them.

You might now see all the Course, all the Publick Markets, all along the Key of the Port, cover'd with dead Bodies, and which were heap'd in Piles one upon another. The Place of the Play-house, and the Pallisadoes of the Port, were not less spread over, by the continual Numbers of those that were debarked from on board the different Ships, and other Vessels, which were fill'd with those frightful Families, which Fear had forced to run to them for Refuge, out of the false Nations, That the Plague would not go to them in the middle of the Water.

Under every Tree of the Course and the Publick Places, and under every Pent-house of every Shop of the Streets and Harbour,  
you

you should see, among the dead Bodies, a prodigious Number of poor sick and dying Creatures ; and even whole Families miserably extended upon a little Straw, or upon bad and rotten Quilts. Some were in so languishing a Condition, that they expected nothing but speedy Death ; others had their Spirits so troubled by the burning Heat of the Venom, that it consumed and devoured them ; begging Help of all that pass'd by, as well by their piteous Complaints, as their moving Groans, which their Pains and Agonies forc'd them to.

There was an insupportable Stench exhaled from these miserable Wretches ; and as if the Distemper was not terrible and cruel enough, they suffered all the Severities of Penury and Want, and that from the publick Misery, which seem'd at present to go hand in hand with the Plague, to make them perish all at once. Abundance of these unhappy People that were dead, perish'd miserably in the Rags they had to cover them, and every Moment increasing the Number of the Dead, which surrounded them now on all sides. It would make ones Heart ready to break, to see so many poor and unhappy Mothers, which had the dead Bodies of their Infants lying by their sides ; and that they should see their poor Babes die before their Eyes, and have nothing in the World to help them : And also so many poor little Infants sucking the Breasts of their dead Mothers, being lock'd within their Arms, and thereby taking in the Venom

from those infected Bodies, which in a little time occasion'd them to suffer the same sad Catastrophe with their deceased Parents. If there was any Vacancy left in the publick Places, or in the Streets, they were immediately fill'd with pestiferous Cloaths and Houshold Goods, which were continually cast out of all the Windows of the Houses, by which means there was not the least Vacancy left, that you might pass along.

All the Dogs and Cats which were kill'd, were as an Addition mingled every where with the dead Bodies, with the Sick, and the infected Cloaths ; and all the Carcasses were so prodigiously swell'd from their Putrefaction, that they were dismal to behold, The Harbour was full of dead Bodies of those that died thereabouts, and cast in there, which swimming upon the Water, rather promoted a general Infection by joyning its horrid Stench with that already in the City, seizing the Hearts, Spirits and Senses of every one.

If you met any one in the Streets, they looked as if they were half dead, and their Souls had abandon'd a great part of their Bodies , or as tho' the Distemper had made them light-headed, and were wandering about without knowing how to support themselves, so that in a little time being overcome with Weakness, they fell down, and could never rise again, expiring immediately where they fell ; or they remain'd in such strange distorted Postures, which the violence of the Melancholy that seiz'd the Heart had caus'd, and agitated several

veral with such violent Transports, that they cut their own Throats, or threw themselves out of the Windows of their Houses, or into the Sea, to put an End to the Pains and Ills they suffer'd, thereby preventing the Death they would not otherways have staid long for.

Nothing was to be heard on all sides, but Cries and Tears, Moanings and Sighs, and Groans, Desolation, terrible Consternation, and even Despair. To have a true Notion of such Horrors, you ought to imagine all the Ills, and Miseries that human Life can be expos'd to, as Frights, and the most terrible Inquietudes, and never to be freed from, but by Death it self.

The 30th of *August*, the Heaps of dead Bodies which were all over the Town, were again increas'd to a prodigious Bulk, by reason of the fresh Addition continually ; for in one Night's time they added above a Thousand to the Heaps : And then in the mean time what was to be done without Galley-Slaves, who were all either dead, or dying, and could not ask for any more, by reason of the Protestation the Officers of the Galleys had made before, that they would give them no more.

What was to be done in this desolate Situation ! The Sheriffs had their ordinary Recourse to Mr. the first President, begging of him to dispatch a Courier immediately to Court, to obtain the Favour of his Royal Highness that he would send Orders, that they might have every thing given them that they should have occasion for ; they likewise beg'd that he would send Orders at the same time to Monsieur

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*Commandeur d'Rance, and to Mr. Vancroffon, to let them have at least 100 more Slaves.*

The 31<sup>st</sup> of August, it was impossible for the Hospitals to receive the vast Quantity of Sick which now came to them in such Throngs : So soon as any Persons were perceived to be infected in any House, they immediately became the Object of Horror, and the most frightful Spectacle even to their nearest Relations. Nature now had forgot all its ordinary Obligations ; the Ties of Flesh and Blood were much weaker than the Fear of certain Death, and shamefully gave way, and that without the least Resistance. The Distemper which had attack'd the Deserted, began now to threaten the Deserters themselves, for the Contagion followed them, and communicated it self with an extreme Precipitation, so that the Danger was almost equal in that Person that suffer'd, as in those that it were approaching to, and who had no other Comfort or Support, but that they should follow them in a few Days ; they immediately took this barbarous Resolution, either to throw these poor Wretches out of their Houses, or to fly from them, and to desert themselves, and thereby abandon them, without any to help or assist them, delivered up to Hunger, and Thirst, and all that could render Death the most hard and cruel. The Women practis'd this to their Husbands, and the Husbands in like manner to their Wives : Children also to their Parents, and Parents return'd the same to their Children. Vain Precaution ! that the Love of Life and the Horror

ror of Death had inspir'd them with ; when they had already receiv'd the Infection, the subtil Impressions of this fatal Venom, which they would endeavour to secure themselves from. They in a little time perceiv'd its Ardour and Force, a sudden Death was the Punishment of their cruel Baseness and Cowardice : there was then the same Hardheartedness shewn to them, and they were likewise forc'd in their turns into the Streets, or left alone in their Houses to perish, without any Soul to assist them.

This was the Reason that you might see such an infinite Number of Sick, of all Ages and Sexes, of all Estates and Conditions ; which were found laid and extended in the Streets, and other publick Places. If every one was not finally forced out of their Houses by their Kindred, and Relations, and Friends ; they themselves prevented that Cruelty, by not staying to be abandon'd, and exposed to all manner of Want in their Flight.

Therefore they went and presented themselves to the Hospitals, where they could by no Means receive them, nor could come near them by a great way, by reason of the vast Number that were there before, and who had already found them intirely full, they laid themselves upon the Pavements, and possess'd all the Avenues ; they were therefore obliged to find a Place farther off amongst the dead putrified Bodies, where the Sight and Stench was enough to kill 'em, and which indeed was the only End of this Contagion. At Extremi-

tremities so moving as these, the Sheriffs used double Diligence in the building the new Hospitals, which was to be made in the Alleys, where they us'd to play at Mall ; and in the mean time they fitted up large Tents, upon the Explanade out of the Town, which lies between the Beggars-gate, and the Capuchin Monastery.

Under these Tents they put as many Straw-Beds as possibly could remain there ; and they were no sooner fitted up, and the Beds put in their Places, but they were so full of poor infected Wretches, that they were obliged to put several into one Bed : There was wanting a great Number to supply all ; and they lay under the Misfortune of wanting every thing necessary for the same, having neither Cloth nor Straw to make them withal.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of September, the first President had the Goodness to write to Monsieur Commandeur Rance, and Monsieur de Vancrossen, that they would be pleas'd to grant once more a hundred Galley-Slaves to Messieurs the Sheriffs ; they immediately granted the same, and sent them to them, and they never were more wanted than at this Time.

For Monsieur Moustier being mov'd by the Extremity he found all things drove to, immediately put himself at the Head of these new Galley-Slaves, with eleven Carts, and made them carry away more than 1200 Bodies every Day.

The second, that they might work with less Difficulty ; and as the Bodies that were shut up

up in the Houses, made the Galley-Slaves lose a great deal of Time to go and take them away, because they found most of them putrified to that degree, by the long time that they had remained there, that they could not draw them away but by Pieces: And moreover to hinder the Pillages that the Galley-Slaves made in the Houses; where there was no body, they pillag'd every thing they could find: An Order was issued, requiring that as soon as any one was dead in a House, those that belong'd to the same, should immediately cause the Body to be brought down into the Street, using all the Precautions that were requisite and necessary.

The same Day came out an Arret from the Council or Board of Trade, being an Injunction to all the Recturers of the *Hôtel de Dieu*, that of Charity, of the abandon'd Infants, of the Houses of Penitents and Sanctuary, to all the Chaplains of the City, to the Physicians of the Hospitals, and all manner of Intendants, and municipal Officers, to return immediately to their Duty at *Marseilles*, otherwise they should be declared incapable for the future of any publick Charge, and condemed to 1000 Livres Fine.

The 3d of September the Sheriffs found the Town-house almost empty; none remaining there but the Sieur *Capus*, chief Keeper of the Records, and Monsieur his eldest Son, whose Merits and Virtues ouglit not to be forgot, and who since the Beginning of the Contagion assisted to go through the Increase of Business

which he had in his several Offices, the Sieur *Bovis Cashier*, and him, without having either Guards or Domesticks, or any one Person of Command or Authority: It could not well be judg'd what furious Ravages the Plague had already made in this great City, among those which belong'd to this House, for there were above five hundred People Perish'd, viz. Thirty of the Bandalier Guards, all the Guards of the Civil Government, all the Captains of the City except one, all the Lieutenants except two, almost all the Captain Lieutenants, and Guards of the *Priviledge du Vin*, being five Brigades, all the Serjeants of the Watch or Patroul, 350 Men of the Company of Guards; and all the Valets of the City that belong'd to the Magistrates, whom now you might see left desolate, without any to assist them.

Men were no more now than walking Ghosts, those that you saw well one Day, the next you might see carrying away dead in Carts; and that which was still more strange, those that shut themselves up in their Houses, and took the most Care to preserve themselves, the Infection slipt in and attack'd those, when no Body could tell how.

The 4th. Nothing was more deplorable than to see the infinite Number of sick and dying Creatures, which the City was now found to be full off; deprived both of spiritual and temporal Help, and reduc'd to so sad and deplorable a State, that most of them died without Confession.

There

There was not wanting in this City, in truth, of Ministers of the Lord, as well secular as regular, which had devoted themselves a Sacrifice for the Health of the Souls of these poor Creatures, by continually assisting and confessing them; neither was there wanting of holy Heroes, for by that Name my Author says he may call all the *Capuchins* and *Jesuites*: Those of the two Houses of St. *James* and the *Holy Cross*, and the same of all the Observatins; all the Franciscan Friers, and some others, who with a Courage more than Heroick, together with such indefatigable Zeal, Ardour, and Christian Charity run to all Places, and made the greatest Hast to those Houses that were most abandon'd and destitute of Help, that were the most Infected; and into those Streets and publick Places where they were the most thronged with putrified Bodies; and into those Hospitals where the Plague was the hottest, and confessed the Sick, and attended them to their last Gasp, and received their Contagious and poisonous Breathings; the same as if it had been the Scent of a Rose.

But these holy Labourers, whom (my Author says) ought to be regarded as true Martyrs (since those were honour'd with the Title of Martyrs, that dy'd in *Alexandria*, under the Episcopacy of St. *Dennis*, who had the Charity to assist the Infected) Death had now carried most of them off, and at a time when the Mortality was so great, that their Assistance would have been the most necessary: 42 Capuchins had already perish'd, 21 Jesuites, 32 Observa-

tins, and 29 Franciscans, and more than 10 barefooted Carmelites, 22 reform'd Augustins, and every one of the great Carmelites, and the great Trinitarians, and the reform'd Trinitarians, the Religious of *Loretto*, of *Morey*, the Dominicans, and the great Augustins, who had remain'd in their Convent; beside a vast Number of secular Priests, and the greatest Part of the Vicars of the Chapters and Parishes.

In this great Extremity the Bishop call'd upon those, who by their particular Character and Title of their Benefice, were under an indispensible Obligation, to confess and administer the holy Remedies to the dying; but who, being struck with a shameful Terror, basely took care of their own Health by their Flight, without the least Regard or Concern for any other. Their proper Duty was not capable to raise the the least Spark of Charity in their Hearts, and when they ought to be most student in the same. The pious Example of the Holy Bishop ought continually to have excited them.

In vain was he desired and pressed to go out of the Town from the Beginning of the Plague, in order to take Care to preserve the rest of his Dioces: but he despised all these Counsels, and regarded nothing but those things which inspir'd him with Love for the Flock which the Sovereign Pastor had given to his Care and Charge. He remain'd with an unshaken Firmness and Resolution, to dedicate his Life to the Service of his Sheep, till it should please God to take him to himself.

He did not confine himself by remaining prostrate at the Foot of the Altar, and by lifting up his Hands to Heaven, to supplicate Favour of Almighty God to appease his Wrath: But his Charity was active, he was every Day in the Streets in all the Quarters of the Town, and went into all Parts to visit the Sick, in the highest and most melancholy and dismal Apartments of the Houses; and in the Streets which were spread over with dead Bodies, and in all the publick Places, and in the Harbour, and the Course.

The most hideous, the most abandon'd, and the most miserable were those that he visited with the most Ardency; and without fearing those Mortal Blasts, which conveyed Poison into the very Heart.

He went to them, confessed them, exhorted them to Patience, and disposed them for Death, filling their Souls with heavenly Consolations, by representing to them the Happiness of Affliction and Poverty in this Life, and left to all his abundant Fruits of Generosity and Charity, by dispersing Mony every where: But above all, in secret, on those Families that were desperate, and in Despair; which his holy Curiosity led him to find out, In order to relieve them, above 25,000 Crowns had already pass'd through his Hands; and he yet desired to pawn every thing to enable him to distribute more.

Death respected this holy \* Charles Boromee,

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\* Charles Boromee was formerly Bishop of Milan, in the Time of the Plague in that City, and behav'd himself with that Piety and Charity, that he was afterwards canoniz'd a Saint for the same. altho'

altho' she always encompass'd him about, and moved almost under his Feet. The Plague had gain'd his Palace, and the greatest Part of his Chaplains and Domesticks were smitten: He was then oblig'd to make his R<sup>e</sup>treat to the Hotel of the first President of Marsailles. The Plague still follow'd him, and attack'd not only the rest of his Domesticks, but two other Persons, who for their distinguishing Merit were very valuable to him; and who were his greatest Aids in his holy Labours: The one was *Pere de la Fore*, a Jesuit, and the other *Sieur Bourgezel*, one of the Canons of the great Church. If he had the Comfort to see the first recover, he had the Grief to see the other expire; Yet for all that he was not in the least daunted, nor hindred him the least Moment from his Functions of fervent Charity, but daily run every where to visit the Infected.

But the Plague gathered in its Harvest too rapidly, for the poor Remnants of Confessors, that were then remaining, to provide, and be sufficient for all. There wanted a great Number of Labourers, therefore the Bishop ordered the Canons of the Collegiate of St. Martins, and some others of that of the Accoues, whose Benefices were very curious and fine, and who were now fled, to be summon'd to return and confess every one in all the Districts of their several Parishes.

The Sheriffs finding the Curates deaf to the Voice of their Bishop, and insensible of the loss of the Souls of their poor Parishioners, requested the Bishop, that he would order an Injunction

junction to be given out, in order to make them come immediately to their Duty; otherwise their Benefices should be declared vacant, and other proper and capable Persons should be nominated to fill their Places.

The 5<sup>th</sup> of September, the Fishermen, who likewise might be of some Use, began to desert, and three of them had taken their Flight; an Order was therefore issued out to oblige and require them to return on the Penalty of 3000 Livres Fine, and to be declar'd for ever after incapable of their Offices.

That Day the Sheriffs were in the greatest Consternation, on the vast Excess of the Mortality, and horrible State they found the Town in, longing for an Answer to the Dispatches they had sent to Court, in order to obtain the Succours which they so much stood in need of.

They wrote to the Marshal *Villars*, and beg'd earnestly of him, that he would support them. This Illustrious Governour, who, among all the Towns of his Government in *Provence*, had always honoured *Marseilles* with a particular Affection, was so concern'd, when he he understood the extream Desolation they were drove to, that he declar'd, that he was himself resolv'd to come to their Assistance, if his Royal Highness would give him leave.

The 6<sup>th</sup> the Sheriffs found themselves now reduc'd to the most dreadful Extremities of all; the last Slaves which the Officers of the Galleys had given them, at the Desire of the First President, were already dead, or infected with the Plague; and for all the great Efforts  
that

that Mr. *Moutier* had made all the preceding Days, in order to remove all the dead Bodies, but it was impossible; for there remained as yet in the Streets and Pavements more than 2000, without counting those which were every where in the Houses: they therefore plainly perceiv'd, that if they remain'd there without a new Reinforcement of Galley-Slaves, and which the Officers of the Galleys would not grant on their Parts, tho' at the same time the Mortality continued to go on, so that in eight Days or less, there would be more than 15000 dead Bodies on the Pavements and Streets all putrefied, for which reason all was done that they could, but yet several were constrain'd to go out of the City, not being able to bear continually the horrid Stench and Venom that proceeded from those putrefy'd Bodies. Upon this, the Magistrates and the few Citizens that were as yet to be found, assembled in the Town House, among whom were the Intendants of Health, who had never given Ease to the Soles of their Feet; with the Sieur *Rose* the Elder, and the Sieur *Roland*. When divers Expedients were propos'd, one advis'd, that in order to free the Town of the dead Bodies that they now had, and likewise those that should continually be thrown into the Streets, that a great deep Ditch be open'd all along every Street, in order to throw all the dead Bodies into them, but there were two things that hinder'd it; the one was, that they could not open those Ditches in the Streets, without cutting at the same

same time all the Pipes which supply'd the Fountains, which pass'd by there; and another was, that there was occasion for 10000 Men to open so many Ditches so suddenly in so large a City, when there was not scarcely any left that were able to do any thing; besides no body would make Ditches in the Streets, which were now pav'd with dead Bodies, fearing to be infected if they did but touch them; others were for leaving the dead Bodies where they were, in the Streets and publick Places, and in the Houses, and that they should be all cover'd with quick Lime, and there left to be consum'd, and that all along every Street such a Quantity of Lime should be brought as should be sufficient to consume all every where as they went; but there was a great many Difficulties which obstructed this also: For where should such a Quantity of Lime be procur'd as would be sufficient to consume such a vast Quantity of dead Bodies? or where should they find People in a Condition to bring it in the Carts, and who could then stand the horrible Infection that would then be exhal'd in the City from the putrify'd Bodies which they were consuming? That which seem'd the most feasible to the Sheriffs, was not to resolve upon any thing, but to pray all the Citizens then present would accompany them in a Body in their Hoods to the Hotel of Mr. the *Commandeur Rancé*, and make the most pressing Instances, that he would grant them all the Support that was possible in that which they were in the greatest Want of for the Safety of the City.

Mr. the Commandeur Rance immediately call'd to him Mr. Vancroffon, the Intendant of the Galleys, and all the chief general Officers of the Galleys; they were all truly so sensibly concern'd at the Zeal of the Magistrates, and the heavy and dismal Condition they lay under, which obliged them to demand these Succours from the great Extremity of the City, that they granted all that they demanded upon these Conditions, that it should be publickly enter'd down in Writing in the Registers of the Town House. The Copy of which is as follows;

**T**HE Day that Messieurs the Sheriffs, Protectors of the Liberties, Privileges and Immunities of this City of Marseilles, the King's Counsellors, Lieutenant-General of the Police, were assembled in the Town-House, with some Municipal Officers, the Recorder of the City, the King's Attorney-General for the Civil Government, and other Citizens of Note, having considered, that altho' the Officers of the Galleys had the Goodness at different times to grant them the Assistance of 250 Galley-Slaves to carry off the dead Bodies, since the Town was afflicted with the Contagion, and had been of extream Service till now, it was therefore insufficient for the Quantity of 2000 dead Bodies that remain'd in the Streets for many Days past; and which caus'd a general Infection, it was therefore agreed for the Health and the Safety of the City to demand of these Gentlemen the greatest Assistance they could. And immediately thereupon Messieurs the Sheriffs went out in their Hoods, accompanied by all the foresaid Municipal Officers and Citizens of Note, and were in a Body at the Hotel of Mr. Chevalier de Rance, Lieutenant General Commander of the Galleys of His Majesty, and there represented to him, that the City had already been obliged to him for the former good Offices he had render'd them in their Calamity, but that yet it would be impossible to save the

the City, unless he would grant them a farther Supply of 100 Galley Slaves, and four Boatswains to command them, (all the rest that were given before were either dead or dying) and that these should perform their Work in conveying away the dead Bodies with all the Order and Expedition imaginable: The Sheriffs would expose themselves on Horseback in their Hoods at the Head of the Tumbrels, and go with them all over the City. And forasmuch as their Authority ought to be supported by a sufficient Force, considering the vast Multitude and Throng of People that were now remaining in the City, in order to hinder any Tumult or Disorder: They therefore made pressing Instances that he would grant them at least 40 good Galley Soldiers to be under their Command, and likewise to attend and hinder any of the Galley-Slaves from making their Escape, and who were a People that would be commanded by none but them; that they should be divided into four Escovades or Parties, and each of them to be under the Command of a Sheriff, and that one of these Parties should always remain at the Town-House, in order for the Dispatch of all Occurrences that might happen in that Place, and should be commanded by the Chevalier Rose, and in Default of these Gentlemen, other Persons of the greatest Worth and Value should be appointed as Commissioners to command in their room. Upon which Monsieur Chevalier de Rance, Monsieur the Intendant, and the rest of the General Officers of the Galleys assembled together; and being made sensible of the sad and deplorable Condition of this great and important City, they were therefore very willing to provide all that was necessary for their Preservation, and immediately granted to the Sheriffs, and the rest of the Community 100 more Slaves, 40 Soldiers, four Corporals, and four Boatswains; and it was judged the most expedient to take those that offered themselves voluntarily, thereby to devote them more intirely to their Service in so perilous an Undertaking as they were now to be engag'd in: They promis'd the following Rewards, viz. that over and above the Subsistence the Corporation would allow them, there should moreover be given to every Boatswain of the Gal-

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lies 10 Livres per diem, to every Soldier 50 Sous ; and after it has pleased God to deliver the City from the Plague, 100 Livres of Gratification should be paid to each Person then living, and to every Corporal 100 Sous per diem ; and moreover an annual Pension during Life of 100 Livres to every one that survived, believing that they could not gratify them enough for so important and dangerous a Service, which the whole Assembly unanimously agreed to during this pressing time of Need. Given at Marseilles the 6th of September 1720. Sign'd Estelle, Audimar, Moutier, Dieude, Sheriffs; Picchatty de Craissainte, Recorder, and the King's Attorney General, and Capus Keeper of the Records.

The 7th of September, the Magistrates, who consider'd that the Plague was the Scourge of God's Wrath and divine Displeasure, and that all the Help of Men, and all the Endeavours and Efforts that were, or could be made use of, were vain and ineffectual, without having recourse to the Almighty, that he would in his infinite Goodness and Mercy forbear his Anger, and give over his severe Dispensation : they therefore resolved to make a Vow in behalf of the whole City, whereby he might be induced, out of his great Goodness, to deliver them from this cruel Contagion (as in like manner their Predecessors did, when afflicted with the last Plague) and promis'd to that End that the Corporation should give annually, for ever, the Sum of 2000 Livres for the establishing a House of Charity, under the Title and Protection of our Lady of good Help and Succour, to serve as a Retreat for the poor Daughters that were Orphans of the City and Territory.

The

The 8th they made this solemn Vow in the Presence of the Bishop, in the Chappel of the Town-House, where he celebrated Mass.

The same Day they had the Slaves and the Boatswains which were granted them, together with the Soldiers (when they immediately establish'd a *Corps de Garde* in the great Hall of the Lodge) and Mr. *Moutier* having got the Tumbrels in order, and divided the Slaves into different Brigades, they every one put themselves at the Head of each Brigade in their Hoods, together with a Party of the Soldiers, and went directly where the greatest Heaps of dead Bodies lay, and where they were the most putrefied, with that Courage, Resolution and Intrepidity, that it astonish'd the very Soldiers themselves, and which constrain'd even the Galley Slaves to work with all their Might, without fearing the Perils which they so very much disdain'd. They continued in this manner every Day from Morning to Night : and Mr. *Chevalier de Rose* was always on Horseback, and had that Place allotted him, which oblig'd him to be always in waiting at the Town-House, for the Dispatch of all current Affairs : 'Tis a great Wonder that all had not perished by their constant exposing themselves so terribly to these Dangers, that were so great ; that of the Soldiers of the Galleys that accompanied them, all perish'd except forty.

The 9th, they sent to the Council of *Marine* the Note, containing the Conditions by which Messieurs the Officers of the Galleys had granted them the Soldiers and Galley Slaves, and they

they forwarded it likewise to the Marshal *de Villars*, and to the Grand Prior.

The 10th, the first President, who was continually vigilant in order to supply their great Wants and Necessities, and who knew that they wanted Carts, and also more Carters to drive them, had the Goodness to send them some from *Aix*, which were of the greatest Service to them imaginable; and the Officers of the Galleys gave them also 29 more Slaves to put in the room of the Invalids that they found unfit for Service in the last 100 that were granted them; they moreover had the Goodness to joyn to that Number six that were Butchers by Profession, in order to serve in the Slaughter-Houses of the City, where all the Butchers were either dead or run away, so that they had none left to kill or dress any Meat for them.

The 11th, as there was now scarcely any Physicians left, and a less Number of Chirurgeons, who were either fled, or perish'd without being able to save their Lives by their Art, Mr. the first President sent them Mr. *Pons* and *Boutellier*, Physicians of the Faculty of *Montpellier*, and the Sieurs *Montier* and *Rabaton*, very able Master Chirurgeons.

The 12th, the Sheriffs were acquainted that Monsieur the *Commandeur de Langeron*, Chief of the Squadron of the Galley and Marshal *de Camp* of the King's Galleys, was nam'd by His Majesty Commandant in *Marseilles* and its Territory, and had receiv'd his Commission for the same. This News was so satisfactory and comfortable, that it immediately rais'd up almost

most every one from the Sadness, Grief and Consternation that they were then involv'd in; it did not only inspire these with new Life, but all the Citizens both sound and infirm; and in short, on all the People in general, there appear'd so much Joy, Pleasure and Contentment, as well as Confidence, Vigour and Courage, that one would believe it to be impossible to die under so worthy a Commander, and that all the Health of *Marseilles* assuredly depended on his auspicious and wise Conduct.

The Affection that he always had for this City, and that which distinguish'd him most, was, that ever since the raging of the Contagion, he was not only willing to assemble with the rest of the Magistrates and Fellow-Citizens in the Town-House, but moreover extremely contributed by his good Offices in all the Succours that were obtain'd from the Officers of the Galleys; his Name and Person had so much Sweetness joyn'd with so much Gravity, that every one fear'd him out of Love and Respect. His Sagacity and Penetration, his Firmness and Courage, Virtues which he was well acquainted with, and never fail'd using the best part of them in all emergent and pressing Occasions, and which he executed with all the Vigour and Zeal imaginable. All that I can say, is, that the whole City, together with the Sheriffs, immediately from this time began to have salutary Hopes, which in its Sequel verify'd it self in a little time after: They went with all hast in a Body, and in their Hoods to his Hotel, in order to pay their Compliments to him.

The

The same time they were acquainted that the Marquis de Pilles Gouvernour \* *Vigueer*, who began now to be upon the Recovery, had also receiv'd a Commission to command in the Town and Territory ; they therefore in like manner went to his Hotel to render the same Compliments to him as they had done to the other. Both of them order'd their Briefs or Commissions to be Register'd in the Town-House, that it might be known, that Monsieur the Commander *Langeron*, in Quality of Marshal de Camp of his Majesty's Armies, commanded in Chief.

The same Day the Commandeur *Langeron* mounted on Horseback, and came to the Town-House, to see into the Disposition of Things, and have a true Insight into them ; to the End that he might take the most proper and necessary Measures, in order to carry the speediest Remedies to those whose Cases were most desperate. He was accompanied by the Chevalier *de Soissons*, an Officer of the Galleys, whom he took along with him for his Assistance, and he devoted himself with so much Zeal and Fervency for the Support of the City, that he was every Day from Morning to Night on Horseback, running every where, where he thought he could be of Service, by providing and remedying, if possible, the Inconveniences and Difficulties which at this Time appear'd to be the most insurmountable. They fear'd no Danger, obliging others by their Example not to grow remiss, or to make the least

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\* *Vigueer* signifies a Magistrate in Provence and Languedock, as the *Prevot* is in the rest of France.

Hesitation ; and they did in short almost impossible Things, with an indefatigable Activity, Prudence, and Zeal ; so hardly anything was done but by their Care and Assistance.

The 13<sup>th</sup>, the *Marquis de Pilles* came also to the Town-House. His Presence, after the Alarm and Heaviness his Indisposition had caus'd in all, gave now the most exquisite Pleasure and Satisfaction to every one : The Commandeur *Langeron* was there in like manner, he never fail'd coming every Day on Horse-back in the Morning, and sometimes, if he could, in the Afternoon, to hold a Session or Meeting, till eight in the Evening. This he very often did after he had made his Tour in visiting the Hospitals, the Ditches, and Church-Yards, and other Places which he went to, and which were the most perilous ; that he might see every thing with his own Eyes, thereby exposing himself, without the least Regard for his Life or Health.

The 14<sup>th</sup>, All the Sheriffs continued at the Head of a Brigade of Slaves with the Tumbrels, working in different Parts of the City, by making them carry away and throw into the Ditches the prodigious Quantity of dead Bodies, that the whole Town was filled with ; and the more they carried away, the more they always found by the Continuation of the Mortality.

But there was one Place where it was impossible to touch them : This was an Esplanade called the Turret, which was on the

Sea-Side, between the Houses and the Rampart, all along St. John's Fort to the great Church; there they found extended about 1000 dead Bodies, which touch'd one another. The freshest of them had lain there more than three Weeks; so that if they had not been the least Pestiferous, yet the Bodies lying so long exposed to the scorching Heat of the Sun, which at this time darted its Rays directly down upon them, during all the Day, it would have been sufficient to have infected all the rest. The Senses were seized at the approaching to a Place far distant from it, when they easily perceived the contagious Vapours that exhaled from thence. Nature now trembled, and the boldest Eyes could not bear an Aspect so horrible and hideous. Those dead Bodies had no longer the Form of humane Shape; they were like horrible Monsters, and their Limbs mov'd by the vast Quantities of Worms and Maggots that were at work, in order to tear them from their Bodies.

Nothing certainly could be more necessary and urgent, than the removing those frightful Carcasses as soon as possible; for every Moment that they remain'd, still made an Addition to the Poisonous Exhalations that infected the whole Air. But how to take them away, and convey them to the Ditches without the City, and which was a great Distance from thence, was the greatest Difficulty;

culty ; the Bodies were so rotten and putrefied, that they would not hold together to be put into the Tumbrels ; their Entrails being fallen out, and their Limbs dropp'd off, and spread all over, by which Means the Plague and Venom would be carried thro' the whole City.

The Chevalier *de Rose*, who was a very necessary Man, as well as a Person of great Penetration and Judgment, and as diligent as he was intrepid went to the Place, and viewing the Rampart, he perceiv'd there two antient Bastions that were formerly supported ; (it being the Place where *Julius Cæsar* attack'd the City 2000 Years ago,) which joined to the Esplanade, or covered Way, where those dead Bodies lay ; which, though they appear'd to be solid Terras Walks, were however hollow within, which he discovered at the Foot of one of those Bastions, by a small Hollow Cut which Time had made in one of the Stones, whereby he perceiv'd, that he had nothing else to do but to remove some Feet of Earth, which cover'd the Concavity of the Bastions, to sink into or break open the Vault, and that he should find it hollow within, even to a Foot level with the Sea ; he knew nothing that would be more proper and convenient than these Vaults, to throw all the Dead into, and afterwards to cover them with a sufficient Quantity of Quick-Lime, and Earth, that so it might hinder the least Exhalation of any Infection.

This being a Matter so judiciously project-ed, he came back to the Town-House, and told the Commander *Langeron*, and the She-riſſs, that he would take the Charge upon himself, to carry all the dead Bodies from the Turret, and explain'd to them his Project. They found it to be extreamly good: But to perform this great Work, there would be a Necessity of having a very great Number of Slaves, because it must be done, as it were, in a Moment; for it was evident, that no li-ving Person could remain more than a few Mi-nutes in a Place so prodigiously infectious as this must be, in the removing (if it was possible) those dead Bodies, and dragging their putrified Members, which had been so long exposed to the Heat of the Sun, in order to throw them into the Bastions.

The Commander *Langeron*, who now had receiv'd Orders from Court to take as many Galley Slaves for the Service of the Town, as he should judge neceſſary, promis'd to give him 100 for his Expedition.

The same Day the Mortality still continued without the least Diminution, and all the ſe-veral Ditches that were open, they now found full. Mr. the Commander *Langeron*, accom-pañied by Mr. *Mouſtier* Sheriff, and the Che-valier *de Suissons*, went to view all the out Parts of the City, to see where they could find convenient Places, to make new Ditches forthwith; and they mark'd out one on the ſide of the Gate of *Aix*, of ten Toifes long, and fifteen broad; and in the mean time be-stirr'd

Stirr'd themselves, in order to procure at least 100 Peasants to work upon the same: They sent Dispatches to all the Guards of the Territories, with strict Orders to the Captains of the principal Quarters, to oblige them to come either willingly, or by Force.

The 15<sup>th</sup> of September an Ordinance was issued out, requiring all the Intendants of Health, the Chancellors of the City, the Captains of the Quarters, and the Commissaries of the Parishes, who had deserted, to return in 24 Hours, and to perform their several Functions, on pain of the highest Displeasure.

At the same time there was another Ordinance issued out conjointly with the Marquis *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, concerning all that should be done, and executed, for preserving the Territories, where now the Plague also made prodigious Ravages, and had crept into all the Quarters.

The 16<sup>th</sup>, in order to remove the horrible Infection that was in the Harbour, by reason of more than 10000 dead putrified Dogs that swam upon the Surface of the Water, the Fishermen and Boatmen were ordered to come to the Town-House, the Magistrates then gave them orders to take their Boats, and with their Nets to drag the whole Harbour, and haul all the Dogs out of the Mouth of the same, that so the Current of the Water might never bring them back.

That Day Monsieur *Chevalier de Rose*, who had the Day before broke open the Cave of

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the *Bastions* of the Turret, and found it effectually hollow to the very Foot, as he had before advanced, and having receiv'd the 100 *Galley-Slaves* order'd for the Expedition of removing those dead Bodies from this Place, did it so well, that after he had caus'd every one of them to put a Handkerchief dip'd in Vinegar round their Heads and Faces, and having dispos'd every thing in such good order, that every Hand should at one and the same Moment be employ'd, he caus'd all the dead *Carcasses* and the loose Members that were drop'd from their Bodies to be remov'd and cast into the Cavity and Belly of those *Bastions* in half an Hour's time, and after that cover'd them all with quick Lime and Earth, and made it even with the Ground of the Esplanade or Counterscarp.

The 17<sup>th</sup>, the Sheriffs persevered with the greatest Zeal and Ardour in their different Functions, going every Day at the Head of the Carts, in order to carry away the dead Bodies from the different Parts of the City, which they found always to increase upon them, by the vast Piles that were laid every where where they went. Mr. *Estelle* being inform'd that the Ditches that were fill'd on the side of the major or great Church, were in the Night-time crack'd and carv'd in, he went immediately thereupon to repair the same and cover 'em up close, and to that End took with him the Peasants that were working on the new Ditches on the side of the Gate that leads to *Aix*; but the Peasants could

could not be manag'd nor made to go to those pestiferous Places ; the Soldiers of the Galleys push'd them forward, but they still drew back. Mr. *Estelle* was the first that took a Pick-Ax in his Hand, and began himself to labour very hard, in order by his good Example to induce and animate the rest ; but it had no Effect on any but the Soldiers, who immediately laid down their Arms, and came and took the Pick-Ax from his Hands, and every one taking a Pick-Ax from these cowardly Peasants, cover'd and closed up the Ditches, maugre all the Infection, with a Courage that can't be express'd : The Misfortune was, that all those brave Soldiers perish'd in serving the City with so much Zeal ; and their Loss in truth could never be too much regretted.

That Day likewise Mr. *Audimar* Sheriff order'd a Stack of dead Bodies to be carried away, which was found in the Street call'd the *Ferrat* and in the Quarter of St. *John*, and they were not less putrefy'd than those of the Turret.

Mr. the Commander *Langeron* being willing to provide for the Necessities of the Inhabitants, who were in want of every thing, and who suffer'd extreamly, and even perish'd for want of Chirurgeons, who had most of them fled away, as well as the Apothecaries, and all the Retail Traders, as Hucksters, those that kept Stalls, Sawers of Wood, Cutters of Meat, &c. for all their Shops, Magazines, Stalls and Benches were in general shut up, or taken away ; therefore an Ordinance was issued out, requiring

requiring them to return to the City in 24 Hours precisely, on pain of Death.

The same Day the Physicians of *Montpelier*, which came here in the Month of *August*, to examine by Order of His Royal Highness into the Nature and Quality of the Distemper, came back again, accompanied by the Sieur *Soulliers*, the King's Master Chirurgeon. They were found performing their Quarantine, ever since their Departure, at a House in the Country, hard by *Aix*, in order for their going back to *Montpelier*; but his Royal Highness being willing to do all that lay in his Power, to assist this deplorable City of *Marseilles*, and being sensible that a Distemper of this Nature requir'd the greatest and ablest Physicians for their Assistance, had the Goodness to send Orders for the foresaid Physicians to return hither again immediately, and joyn'd with them Dr. *Duidier*, another famous Physician and Professor of *Montpelier*, who arriv'd here together with them.

The Plague till then had been treated like the Plague, the Sick being apt to pass their Judgment of the Peril and Horror of the Distemper by the manner by which the Physicians visited them. The Chancellor of the University of *Montpelier*, Monsieur *Chycaneau*, Mr. *Verny*, and Mr. *Duidier*, gave them reason to believe, that it was of all the Ills the least dangerous, and the most common, for they approach'd the Sick with all the Coolness and Unconcernedness imaginable, without the least Pres-

Precaution or Repugnance ; nay more, they sat down upon their very Beds, handled their Buboes and Carbuncles, and remain'd there with all the Tranquility imaginable, so long as it was sufficient for them to be well inform'd of the State and Condition these poor Creatures were in, and to see the Chirurgeons perform the Operations they should order ; they went in all the Quarters of the City, and view'd the Sick in every Place : They came to all the Infected in the Streets, in the publick Places, in the Houscs, in the Hospitals, that it might be said of them, that they were invulnerable and tutelar Angels, sent from God to save the Lives of every one ; They refus'd the Money the Rich offer'd them, and receiv'd of no body, unless it was thousands of Benedictions that was given them from all sides. Their method of proceeding, together with the great Reputation of their Names alone, reliev'd the Sick, by the great Confidence and Trust they put in them,

The 18th of September another Ditch was ordered to be opened on the Rampart between the Gate of *Aix*, and the Tower of St. *Paul*, of ten Toises long, and five broad. The Commander *Langeron* commanded the Day before the Captains of the Territories to make the Peasants come. The Chevalier *de Soissons* went at break of Day into the Suburbs to attend, and give Directions in that Work, which they were very much against, by reason of the Proximity of the other Ditches which were already fill'd on that Spot of Ground.

There were likewise new Ditches order'd to be open'd on the side of the new Town, for the dead Bodies of the Parish of St. Feriol, the most beautiful and best inhabited Quarter of the whole City, where Monsieur Serrel, who was, as well as a good Citizen, the most able and famous Painter of the whole City, he was one of the Commissaries that was establish'd in this Part or Quarter, and his Zeal was so fervent, that he was always ready to sacrifice his Life for the Support of his Country : This was the Gentleman that had the peculiar Charge of seeing to the removal of these dead Bodies, and their Interment in the Ditches, by the assistance of the Tumbrels which the Sheriffs had given him for that purpose, and a Brigade of Slaves which the Officers of the Galleys had likewise furnish'd him with, whom he took particular care to nourish and entertain ; nay, more than that, he lodg'd and kept them as his Guard ; such a Citizen as this, whose Country was so dear to him, certainly deserves the Love and Esteem of every one.

The 19<sup>th</sup>, The Town found it self altogether abandon'd, and every Body making their escape, and flying away ; by which Means they were reduc'd to the most cruel Extremity imaginable, not knowing what to do for help to convey the Bread-Corn into the Magazines, from the Boats that came from the Barriers of the Estacque. The Commander Langeron gave therefore 13 couple of Slaves to wheel it away in Barrows to the Magazines, and 2 couple more

more to provide and cook their Vi<sup>t</sup>uals, the Time the rest were at Work, by reason there were no People left in a State and Condition to take that Care upon them.

The Vintage now drawing near, and considering that the Vapours of the new Wine, in a City where there was laid up every Year such a vast Quantity, might be of very great Service in taking away the Infection from the Houses; and then recalling to Mind, that it was that which in Effect ceas'd the last Plague that afflicted *Marseilles*: Therefore an Order was given out by the Commander *Langeron*, and the Marquis *de Pilles*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, importing, That the Vintages might be made as usual. That Day a new Succour arriv'd of 3 other Physicians, of the Faculty of *Montpelier*, who came Post from *Paris*, by Order of his Royal Highness. (Monsieur *Malles*, Professor of the University of *Cahors*, Mr. *Boyer de Paradis de Marseille*, and Monsieur *Lebaude*, accompanied with 2 Master Chyrurgeons of *Paris*:) they were furnish'd with excellent Instructions that they had receiv'd from the Illustrious Mr. *Chirac*, first Physician of his Royal Highness, and Superintendant of the Royal Garden of Plants, who neglected nothing for the Health of this unhappy City, by sending such choice and well experienc'd Physicians, that they could not fail of doing well, as you will in a little time perceive by what follow'd.

The 20th of *September* there was not a Medicine made up to be found in the City, nor no Drugs to make any more, by the flight of all

the Master Apothecaries and Drugsters: The Sick died without being able to make their Wills, by the Desertion of all the King's Notaries; the Women big with Child were brought to Bed without any to assist them, for all the Midwives were fled, therefore a Proclamation was order'd by the Commander *Langeron*, the Marquis *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, requiring strict search to be made for the one, as well as the other, and to oblige them to come back in 24 Hours, on Pain of Death (only the King's Notaries obey'd the Order at this Instant.) The ordinary Term of their Leases, of letting their Houses, commencing and ending at the Feast of St. Michael; but almost all the Houses being now found to be infected, it would therefore be dangerous for any to move their Lodging, or Household Goods, which were in like manner infected. Another Order therefore was publish'd, to hinder any such Practice, till they should receive further Orders from the Governor, and the rest of the Magistrates.

The 21st there was now a new Increase of Care and Trouble on the Sheriffs, for the Commissary, who for a long Time had the Direction, and Government of the Office for delivering out the Corn, and for the Management of the Butchery, died now of the Plague; they therefore were oblig'd themselves to assist at the Delivery of every Thing in that way, though they had an Infinity of other Things to employ them other ways. The Commander *Langeron*, in order to make every Thing as easily

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easy as possible, order'd it so, that the Work should be equally divided amongst them all : Monsieur *Estelle* had the Charge of all the Current Affairs of the Town-House, as the Correspondences, dispatching all the Orders of the Civil Government, &c. Mr. *Audemor* had the Care of the Butchery ; Monsieur *Mauftior* of all that concern'd the carrying away, and interring the dead Bodies ; the Ditches, the Church Yards, the Cleaning the Streets, the Tumbrels, the Galley Slaves, and their Subsistence ; and Monsieur *Diende* of all that concern'd the Bread-Corn, the Meal, the Wood to burn, and the Bakers.

The 22d new Ditches were absolutely necessary to be made, the Commander *Langeron* sent therefore his Guards into the Territory, to make 150 Ditchers come and Work, and the Day following, being the 23d, they open'd one of 22 Toises long, 8 broad, and 14 Feet in depth, in the Garden of the *Observatins*, near the Ramparts.

The 24th of September was now the Time that the Misery and Calamity of the City was in its last Period, and that every Body that breath'd, believ'd now they should die, as much in the Country as in the Town; or that those whom the Plague spar'd, would fall by Hunger and Despair, more cruel and dreadful than the Plague it self ; and that all the Sources of Charity which us'd to run so freely, were now entirely damm'd and dried up, so that Heaven seem'd to be as Brass, and the Earth as Iron, according to the Expression of

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## To 2 An Historical Account

Scripture, and that they could expect nothing more assuredly than Death it self ; when, behold ! a helpful Hand was extended afar off on this unfortunate City.

The 25th, the Heaps of wearing Apparel, and Household Goods, lay in such Quantities in all the Streets, that it even barricaded them up, that there was no passing, together with the dead Bodies, and infected Creatures that lay their gasping for Breath ; Monsieur the Commander *Langeron* therefore appointed 25 Slaves to work, and carry away with the Tumbrels, all the Dead, and other Incumbrances. He likewise gave them 20 more Slaves to cleave Wood for the Bakers, who could not find any, and who were left destitute of all, having not, in short, any Person to do the least thing for them. The Obstinacy of the Apothecaries, Druggists, and Grocers, continu'd, and none would return into the City, notwithstanding the great Necessity the poor People of the Town were in for want of Remedies, and Drugs to compose them ; they were therefore oblig'd to send Guards into the Territory, and seize the principal Heads of them.

The 26th of September the great Hospital that was built of Wood in the Alley, where they us'd to play at Mall, and which in a few Days they hop'd to have compleated so far, as to have been in a Capacity of receiving into the same a great number of the poor sick Creatures, that now lay expos'd in the Streets. But after a prodigious deal of Pains that had

been

been taken, and the Work was just upon the point of being finish'd, when behold of a sudden a Northerly Wind sprung up and blew so furiously, that the like had never been seen before, which immediately brake, and threw down all their Wood work; and even tore their very Tents from the Ground, which were made to cover the poor Wretches, till the Hospital was finish'd. To repair therefore as soon as possible, this unhappy Accident, the Commander *Langeron* order'd immediately the strongest and most expert Slaves, both *Christians* and *Turks*, to be fetch'd from the Galleys; the Sheriffs run about every where to seek for more Timber and Cotton Cloth, every Body were in Action and Motion, and all Hands were employ'd. Mr. the Chevalier *D'Soissans* remain'd on the Spot to animate and encourage the Work, by giving Orders with the Sieurs *Marin* and *Beaussier*, who were the Commissaries appointed for the general Direction of this Hospital, being Persons ready to sacrifice themselves in rebuilding the same; they were found every where, where the Work was most hard and painful to be perform'd; the chief Helpers in this Affair were the Sheriffs, who since the fear of the Contagion, were abandon'd by almost all the World.

The 27th they consider'd, that how great and large soever they made this Hospital, it would never be sufficient for the vast Multitudes of Sick that lay on all Sides, and daily increasing more and more from the Continuation

tion of the Mortality, which made them bethink themselves, without losing the least Time, where they should procure another; and after having cast their Eyes over all the City, they fix'd upon the General Hospital of Charity, which they found ready prepar'd, having 800 Beds ready furnish'd with all proper Utensils, and other Necessaries.

The Difficulty now was, what to do with the Sick that were already in that Hospital; nothing seem'd more convenient than the *Hôtel de Dieu*, where there was room sufficient for them: But there was in that more than 500 that were infected, therefore they order'd the Hospital to be perfum'd, and to take those Sick out from thence, and carry them to the Chapel of the *Penitents*, which was just by; and Mr. *Estelle* immediately made the Hospital be clean'd and perfum'd with all the care imaginable.

From the 28th to the 3d of October, there was nothing but continual Hurry or Motion, working Night and Day at the Mall with all their strength to repair the damage the Wind had done to the Hospital, and to furnish the vast Number of Things that were necessary for such a Building, to make the Disposition of the Lodgings for the Physicians, Chirurgeons, the Officers, together with the Servants, who were order'd to the Convent of *Augustin's Reform'd*, which was very near the said Hospital, and in the Pastides or Country Houses round about. Likewise great and deep Ditches were order'd to be open'd at

the Hospital of *Charity*; those that they had already open'd at the *Observatins*, were just at the back Part of the said Convent.

But they had yet more to do than all this, (*viz*) to dispose, and fit up every Thing in the *Hôtel de Dieu*, and to perfume and cleanse the same; for to displace the Infected, and to put the Sick out of the Hospital of *Charity* into this.

These were Fatigues that were almost inexpressible; the Commander *Langeron* was oblig'd to be on Horseback from Morning to Night, running from one Place to another, and the Sheriffs were in continual Action, without the least Respite, not allowing themselves Time for pulling off their Cloaths when they went to rest, that they might not lose the least moment thereby, and be more ready upon any Emergency; every thing they wanted was procur'd with a vast deal of Trouble and Difficulty, even to the Straw for filling the Beds with, for no Soul would come and bring any from the Territory round about, without being forc'd to it; there was wanting a great many Officers, and other Servants, as also Chyrurgeons for all those Hospitals, as well Masters as Apprentices, none could be persuaded to come from other Places without an excessive Recompence, which they were oblig'd to do, by fixing up publickly Papers on all Sides of the City and Territory, by which they promis'd to all the Chyrurgeons that would come, as follows, *viz.* To all Master Chyrurgeons of great Towns 2000 *Livres per Month,*

Month, and to the Master Chyrurgeons of the small Villages 1000 *Livres per Month*; and to all Apprentices and Journeymen 300 *Livres per Month*, and the Freedom of the City, besides Lodging and Entertainment, during the time they should be employed in their Service.

The 3d of October, a Party of the Troops which the Commander *Langeron* expected for the Service of the City, in order to enable him to execute his Orders, arriv'd there: He receiv'd the 3 Companies of the Regiment of *Flanders*, which he order'd to be encamp'd at the *Carthusian Convent*, or *Charter-House*, just without the Walls.

The 4th, the two new Hospitals, that of the *Mall*, and that of *Charity*, were at last put into a Condition to receive the Infected; and immediately abundance of Sick from all Sides were brought to them. A certain Number of Slaves were order'd to take care, and bring in those that lay groaning in the Streets and publick Places, and in the Houses, who could not any ways conduct themselves, for want of Strength and Nourishment.

The 5th, all the Physicians, as well Strangers, as those that properly belong'd to the City, were summoned to the Town-House, in the Presence of the Commander *Langeron*; of Monsieur Marquis *de Pilles*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs. Where were also Messieurs *de Chycoyneau* and *Verney*, as their Chiefs, and those who had the general Inspection: These appointed the several Quarters where every Physician

Physician should act, and the Chyrurgeons that should serve under them. If all the Strangers were so signally esteem'd for their Ability and Zeal, those likewise of the Town did not deserve less, by their great Zeal and Affiduity, as well in one Place as in another. Their Zeal was so fervent, and their Care of their own Welfare so little minded, that 3 of them lost their Lives, (*viz.*) *Melieurs Peissonel, Montagueur, and Audon*, and a 4th, who was the Sieur *Bertrand*, wanted but very little of the Grave.

The 6th, 3 Captains of the City were found dead; the Sheriffs nominated in their rooms the Sieur *Desperier Ecuyer*, and the Sieur *Bonneau, and Icard*, who all along, from the beginning of the Contagion, were always the most forward and willing to undertake those Things that were the most perilous and fatiguing, for the service of the City.

The 7th, The Plague now rag'd more in the Territory belonging to *Marseilles*, than in the City it self; and it was very important to hinder the Infected from coming into the Town: To that end, the Commander *Langeron* plac'd a Guard of the King's Troops at every Gate of the City, under the Command of the Captains, and other Officers of the Town, and made an Ordinance, that their Orders should be fix'd upon every Gate.

The 8th, ever since these two new Hospitals were open'd, the Sick were not found any more lying in the Streets and publick Places, as b. fore; the dead Bodies being taken

away daily, by the vast number of Carts that were continually rowling backwards and forwards upon the Stones. They then set about the cleaning all the different Quarters of the City, as well to make the Passage free, as to take away the horrible Stench which was caus'd by the prodigious quantity of Ordure and Dung, lying in every part of the City. In order to clear the Key on each Pallisade, great Dung Boats were brought, into which was thrown all the Filth and Nastiness that lay about every where: And in the mean time, the Sheriffs receiv'd Orders to divide themselves, and every one was to have the care of a particular Quarter, and each to take a Brigade of Slaves to accompany him, and there burn all the heaps of wearing Apparel, and the Pestiferous Household Goods which they should find cast out of the Windows and Houses; and other Brigades of Slaves were to go with the Dung Carts, and take away the Filth and Ordure, and carry it to the Dung Boats, which Boats were to carry it a good distance out of the Port, and then throw it into the Sea.

This Work was so long and considerable, that though they labour'd with the greatest Diligence and Application imaginable, yet it was little less than a Month before they could finish it.

The 9th of October, the Sheriffs receiv'd a piece of News which fill'd them with Joy and Consolation; they saw by a Letter, that the Consuls of *Avignon* had the Goodness to write

to them ; that the common Father of all faithful *Roman Catholicks* being sensibly concern'd, when he was inform'd of the unhappy state of *Marseilles*, (it being the first City of the *Gauls* which receiv'd the Christian Faith, by St. *Lazarus* their first Bishop, and has kept it self pure at all Times, without the least Heresy being ever able to introduce it self there, and who had all along the greatest Attachment and Veneration for the Holy See.) At *Rome* therefore they were not contented with ordering publick Prayers and Processions in all their Churches, where his Holiness assisted himself on Foot, to beg of the Sovereign Father of Mercy, that he would appease his Wrath, and turn away his terrible Scourge, which otherwise would lay this poor City desolate : But he likewise commiserating their great Want and Misery, from the vast Number of poor Creatures that were there, was willing to give them Bread, that they stood in so much need of; to that end his Holiness order'd 2000 *Roubies* of Bread-Corn to be bought in the Market of *Ancona*, making in all about 3500 Loads or Burdens ; that it should be receiv'd immediately by Vessels order'd for that purpose at *Civita Vecchia*, in order to be distributed among the Poor, according as the Bishop shou'd think fit

The 10th, the Canons, Curates of the Collegiate Church of St. *Martin*, persisted in their former Resolution, not to return again to their Function, notwithstanding all the Monitions and Summons that had been made them ; the Bishop

Bishop therefore gave Sentence against them, according to the Purport of the Petition of the Sheriff's made to him of the 4th of September last, declaring their Benifices vacant ; and for that Reason other suitable Persons should be put into their Places, which was done accordingly.

The 11th, there was now in the Hospitals a great Number of Sick, that had the good Fortune to escape dying of the Plague, there was therefore a proper Place wanting for these Curables to go into, where they were to stay 40 Days after their Buboes and Carbuncles were entirely cur'd and cicatriz'd. Whereupon it was agreed, that none could be so proper for this Purpose as the grand Infirmary ; it was order'd therefore to be fitted up, and furnish'd with all Things necessary, and the Commander *Langeron*, accompanied by Mr. *Estelle*, went thither, and gave the necessary Orders to be dispatch'd with all Expedition.

The 12th, new Troops arriv'd here for the Service of the Town : The Commander *Langeron* receiv'd three Companies of the Regiment of *Brie*, which he order'd to encamp at the *Carthusian* Convent, with the other three Companies that were already there.

The 13th, 14th, 15th, whilst they were disposing the Infirmaries for the Reception of those that were upon the Recovery, Orders were issued out into the Territory, to constrain all those Intendants of Health, that had absented themselves, to return back immediately, as also several municipal Officers, whose Presence

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Presence were at this Time absolutely necessary for the Service of the City.

The 16th, a Guard of Thirty Soldiers were appointed at the Town House, to attend the Sheriffs, and execute their Orders.

The 17th, it was agreed to send into the Infirmaries, not only those that were upon the Recovery in the different Hospitals; but moreover all those which were found in the Town, who attended on all Sides with their Buboes open and running, and thereby communicating the Infection to all in general, who were ignorant of their Condition, and had the misfortune to approach or touch them.

The 18th, they met with abundance of Difficulties before they could finish the Disposition of all Things necessary in these Infirmaries; for in order to shut up the sides of the Halls, and make particular Appartments, a great Quantity of Wood and Boards, and Sail Cloth, were very necessary; which at this Time was not to be found in the City, which oblig'd them to find out another Place more convenient, and fitting for their Purpose. Such a Place was the College of the Fathers of the Oratory; where the Classes were sufficient to entertain a great number of People: And where there were Lodgings for the Physicians, and Chyrurgeons, and the Servants, which were all ready provided in the other Part of the House, being left empty, by the flight of the Holy Fathers.

The 16th, Mr. the Grand Prior *Clastral*, of the Abbey of St. Victor, and two other

other Religious, depurated by their Chapter, came to the Town House, and justified themselves in their refusal to come to the Lodge with their Shrine, and other Reliques of their Saint. The Distemper still continued, māugre all the Efforts that were made to put a stop to it; therefore nothing else was left for them, but the Hope and Expectation of Mercy, through the Intercession of the Saints. The Sheriffs hereupon propos'd, that the Bishop might be desir'd to order all the Shrines of the Saints, and all the Reliques of the great Church to be brought out; and that he would accompany them to the Place of the Lodge, where they should erect a great Altar, to expose them on for publick View; and to desire likewise the Abbot of St. *Victor*, to order all his Reliques out at the same Time; and to accompany them to the same Place, where they should be all jointly expos'd on the same Altar; the Bishop should celebrate the Mass, and should say all the Prayers that were order'd for the Plague; which the Holy Bishop immediately agreed to, with all the Joy and Satisfaction, that his Piety could animate and inspire him withal. The Commander *Langeron* having given out excellent Orders, whereby that Holy Action might be perform'd with all the Decency and Order imaginable, without the least Disturbance from any Crowd or Throng of People, or the least Communication with any of the Town: Nothing remain'd now, but to perswade the Gentlemen of the Abbey of St. *Victor* to this pious Work; and

to that end Mr. *Estelle* went to perswade them: They would agree to it, but upon Conditions so impracticable, that it was impossible to comply with them. They would have either two Altars erected, or that the *Bis* op should not say Mass, for fear of getting the Infection from him; and their Grand Prior *Clastral*, and two other Religious of the Abbey, came and testified, that the Reasons they there had laid down, were not out of any pretext of Refusal.

The 20th, not one Bell in the City had been Tolled all the Time of the Sickness till now, not even that of the Retreat, or Tap-to: The Commander *Langeron* order'd them all to be Tolled as before.

The 21st, the Officers of the City were order'd to make their Patrols exactly in all the Parts of the City with a number of Soldiers that should be appointed them.

The 22d and 23d, The Prisons were now full of Malefactors, and the Effects of abundance of Houses were expos'd to Pillage and Robbery, by the Death of all the Persons that inhabited them: Orders were therefore sent into the Territory to oblige all the Judges of the Civil Government to return to the City, and draw up the necessary Processes against these Rogues; and provide for the Security of the Effects of others.

The 24th, the Commander *Langeron*, with the Marquis *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs issued out a Proclamation, requiring and enjoining all those that were posse'sd with the Keys of and

Houses, or the Effects of any Persons deceas'd, or had receiv'd them to keep for any one, or in any other Manner, to come in twenty four Hours to the Town House, there to make Declaration thereof before the Magistrates of the Civil Government, in order to give Security for the same.

The 25th, another Proclamation was issued out, for the publick Health and Safety, in order to hinder all Robberies that might be committed in the Night; and that the Contagion might not be increas'd by the transporting from one Place to another the pestiferous and infected Cloaths; those, which after the Retreat or Tapto had tolled, should be surpriz'd in robbing any House, or carrying away any Cloaths, or Household Goods, should be punish'd with Death, and that those who should be found with any prohibited Arms should be condemn'd to the Galleys.

The 26th, the Plague no sooner seem'd to diminish, but it increas'd their Misery and Want, for the Distemper had now got into all the neighbouring Places, and even the Capital of the Province, *Aix*, that now neither Corn, nor other Necessaries could come to the Barriers as before, every Thing now was chang'd, and all Support was out of their reach; so that *Marseilles* was now reduc'd to the greatest Extremity that was possible. The Commander *Langeron*, and the Sheriffs seeing the great Necessity they were in, and to avoid an intire Famine, which would soon come

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come upon them ; they therefore sent Embarcations on all sides, to bring Corn and other Necessaries of Life ; but they had no Money, nor means to raise any : Therefore they determin'd to send Dispatches to the Court to implore their Assistance.

The 27th, the Hospitals of the *Mall*, that of *Charity*, and of the *River Neuve*, were, by the diminution of the Contagion, more than sufficient to hold all the Sick, and that of the Curables was now of no use ; therefore all the Curables that were in the College of the Fathers of the Oratory, should be remov'd from thence, and put in there.

The 28th and 29th were employ'd in fitting and furnishing of new Beds, after having transported from the Hospital of the *Mall*, all the Sick that they there found.

The 30th, there was now such abundance of Chyrurgeons, as well Masters as Journey-men, which came from all Parts, being excited thereto by the publick Bills which were fix'd up on the 30th of *September*, and which they had likewise order'd to be put up in all the adjacent Parts, and by the great Rewards that they had therein promis'd to all that were willing to come and serve them ; were now oblig'd to put up others, in order to contradict the former, by informing them, that the Plague was considerably diminish'd, and that they had no occasion for any more.

The last of *October*, in order to get the Curables shut up in the *Hospitals*, who wander'd about the Streets with their Buboes as

yet open and running, and thereby infected every Body that came near them ; Mr. the *Chevalier Soissans* thought of an Expedient which pleas'd every one ; that as there was abundance of People that receiv'd Alms, and would not fail coming to the Places where Charity was daily distributed to them, he would therefore cause a number of Soldiers to lie conceal'd about the Hotel, where the Bishop had made his Retreat to ; he therefore drew together more than Five Hundred of these Beggars, and when he saw he had got them all, order'd them to be surrounded on a sudden with the Soldiers, who conducted them all into the Hospital of the Curables ; where the Chyrurgeons visited every one, and retain'd all those, which as yet were not perfectly cured.

The 1st. of November, being the Feast of *All Saints*, the Bishop went out of his Palace in Procession, accompanied with the Canons of the Church of the *Acoules*, and all the new Ones that were put into St. *Martins*, and the Curate, and Parish Priest of St. *Feriol*, and appear'd as the Scape Goap sent out loaded with the Sins of the People ; and as if he had been a Victim destin'd for the Expiation of their Sins, he march'd with a Halter about his Neck, and a Cross between his Arms, and bare footed ; he went in this manner to the end of the Course on that side where was the Gate of *Aix*, there he celebrated Mass in Publick, on an Altar which he had order'd there to be erected, and after a fine Exhortation which he made to the People

People, in order to persuade them to Repentance, that thereby it might assuage the Wrath and Anger of God, and obtain Deliverance from this cruel Pestilence: He likewise made an ACT of Consecration of the City to the Sacred Heart of Jesus; and that annually a Holiday should be observ'd in Honour of the same. The Tears which trickled down from his Eyes during this holy Ceremony, together with his soft and healing Words, excited a Remorse in the Hearts of the most obdurate, and every one was penetrated with so lively a Sorrow, that they cried out aloud for the Mercy of God.

*st.* Sir Charles Boromeo did in Times past the same Thing in *Milan*, on the same Day of *All Saints*, when that City had the Misfortune to be afflicted with the Contagion; and he did not fail in the least to imitate the Zeal, Piety, and Charity, and all the other Virtues of so great a Saint, as well as the *Roman Purple* which he so well deserv'd, and which all the People, whom he had now fill'd with good Things, both Spiritual and Temporal, wish'd and pray'd for from the bottom of their Hearts.

From the 2d of *Novem.* to the 5th, the Commander *Langeron*, and the Sheriffs, were employ'd in making new Repartitions of all the Quarters of the City, and they established a Commissary to almost every Street or Row of Houses, to take particular Care that all the different Orders that were deliver'd out should be duly executed; and to hinder every Thing that would in the least contribute to the continuation of the Distemper, or might cause a second Relapse.

The

The 5th, in order to fall the excessive Price of all Provisions, and other Necessaries, which at this Time was daily increas'd, by the prevalent Misfortune of the great Scarcity and Want, they therefore summon'd all Merchants and Traders immediately to repair to the Town House, in order to settle a general Price for the same. All the next Day, being the 8th, was employ'd in settling the Rate: They also issued out an Ordinance, in order to hinder all the Retailers, and other petty Dealers, to sell for a higher Price than what was settled by that Rate, on pain of an Iron Collar, and the Restitution of the Price so exacted, and Confiscation of the Things sold.

From the 6th to the 13th, the Commander *Langeron* was employed in giving Orders on all sides, for the well Governing, and Support of all the Territory where the Plague continu'd to make prodigious Havock. The 14th, he with the Marquis *de Pilles*, and the Sheriffs, issued out an Ordinance, wherein were prescrib'd the most exact, and judicious Precautions that were possible, touching the letting any one come into the Gates, that the Commerce, which was so indispensably necessary, might be preserv'd with the City, without bringing the Distemper, which was actually there, into the City, and thereby increase the Infection, which was not as yet wholly ceas'd.

The 15th, the Bakers were at the Town-House, and acquainted the Magistrates, that they could not work for want of Wood to heat their Ovens; Vessels were therefore immediately

ately dispatch'd on *Toulon* side, to fetch what was necessary.

The 16th, the Bishop took a Holy Resolution of making an Exorcism against the Plague, which he still, to his great Grief, perceiv'd to continue; and to that end, having call'd together all the Remains of his Clergy into the Church of the *Acoules*, he began then to read all the Prayers his Holiness had sent them, and which he had order'd to be recited daily in all Churches of *Rome*, That it might please Almighty God to deliver *Marseilles* from this severe Scourge; and after a fine and very moving Exhortation, he carry'd the Holy Sacrament upon the Terrass Walk, which was upon the Roof of the said Church, from whence he might discover the whole City and its Territory, and gave there the Benediction, and then made his Exorcism against the Plague, with all the Prayers and Ceremonies which the Church has order'd in such Cases.

The 17th of November, the Commander *Langeron* receiv'd an Answer from Court, to the Dispatches that he had made: Monsieur *Blanc*, and Monsieur *le Pelletier de Forts*, were commanded to acquaint him, that his Royal Highness was extreamly concern'd at the Misfortune of *Marseilles*, and that he had given Orders to the *India Company* to make Remittances to them of 2500 Piastres, and 1900 Marks of Silver, which would very well assist the City, till they could procure other Help; Monsieur the Marquis *de Vrilliere* communicated the same Thing to the Sheriffs, and moreover

moreover, assur'd them that his Royal Highness would do all that lay in his Power for their Relief.

This August Prince had all the Care and Regard in the World for this unfortunate City, ever since he was acquainted with its Misfortunes. He never ceas'd giving Orders on all sides, to procure all the necessary Helps and Assurances that were possible, as well to cure the Distemper, as to provide for the Misery and Want of the poor Inhabitants. All the publick Ministers seconded with so much Zeal and Application his good Intentions, that their chief Care seem'd to be employed in nothing else, but giving them the speediest Support that was possible; and what render'd it more efficacious, was the real Sensibility that their Hearts always were affected with, when they consider'd the Loss his Majesty would sustain, by the destruction of so many faithful and obedient Subjects; this Reflection was of great Service to this unfortunate City, and conduc'd very much to their Preservation and Health; for these worthy Ministers thought they could not do a more charitable and worthy Act, than by sacrificing their Lives and Fortunes in so honourable and glorious a Service as this was. Want and Penury never were more abounding (if one may so express it) than at this present Time; and never Misery more powerfully assisted than now; in such a manner, that they had every Thing in the City which they were fearful of being in want of, by the prohibition of all Communication and Commerce: They scarcely

scarcely now ever wanted any thing, by the continual Supplies that came to them from all Parts, by means of the Orders which his Royal Highness had issued out for that purpose, and the particular Regard that Mons. *le Blanc*, and M. *Pelletier des Fortes* had to see them duly executed. Grain, and other Commodities; but above all, Beef and Mutton came now in such quantities, notwithstanding all the Difficulties they had to procure them, that they had for a long time a sort of Plenty, The first President at *Aix* had sent them at divers times pretty considerable Sums of Money; he likewise provided them with all other Necessaries that lay in his power, as Wood, which he order'd them to be supply'd with, by cutting down almost intire Forests for the same; and not contented to procure important Credits for them every where, but likewise took care of the discharge of a good part of it. On the side of *Languedoc*, Monsieur *de Bernage* took all imaginable Care to supply it with all the Succours imaginable, and to make the Province once more fertile. Many notable Citizens had sent them very considerable Supplies. The Sieurs *Constans*, and *Remusat* alone, furnished them with Credit and Money for 2000 Loads or Charges of Bread-Corn. The Sieurs *Martins*, *Grimaud*, and *Beelan*, voluntarily took upon them the supplying the Butchery, where they took all imaginable care, and improv'd it considerably. Many others gave Money to send for Corn from the *Levant*; even the Magistrates of the Sovereign Courts of the Province, who were

ever since the beginning of the Plague, push'd on by noble and generous Souls, to assist those poor Creatures as far as they were able, therefore offer'd to send them the Corn they had gather'd from their own Lands, and which they had laid up for their own use; such were Mons. *de Lubiers and Ricards*, Counsellors of the Parliament, and Monsieur *Rouville*, President of the Court of Accompts, the Court of Aids and Finances. Therefore it was now impossible, that they should perish when they were supported and supply'd with all Necessaries from so many different Hands; but *Marseilles* being a Place of such vast Trade and Commerce, that it continually requir'd abundant Supplies.

The 18th, the Sieur *Taxel*, Agent for the India Company at *Marseilles*, remitted to the Sheriffs 1603 Marks in solid Silver, and 20049 Marks in Piasters, which they immediately shut up in their Chest, in order to coin them into new Species, as the Mint of *Montpelier*.

The 19th, the Distemper, which had been very much decreas'd for some time, was now again somewhat increas'd, and they had reason to believe the Communication that People had with one another in the Churches, which were now all open'd as formerly, was the real Cause of the same, they therefore desired the Bishop to order all of them to be shut up again.

The 20th, 21st, 22d, These Days were imployed in fitting out the Vessels which were to go to the *Levant* to fetch Corn, to the end that they might not be left without every thing in Winter; and that after such a Plague and Scarcity

city which they had already undergone, they should not be reduced to an entire Famine

The 23d, Advice was brought that one of the Ships laden with Corn, by his Holiness at *Civita Vecchia*, and ordered for this Place, for the Support of the Poor, was unfortunately lost on the Isle of *Porcheralles*, and out of 2000 Charges or Loads which he brought, not above 300 were sav'd.

The 24th and 25th the Plague still continued in the Territory, and those Persons that were infected, or suspected themselves, were soon found out, by the Artifice and cunning Address they us'd in order to get Admittance into the City, where the Distemper was at this time almost entirely ceas'd. But the Commander *Langeron* had given such good and exact Precaution, that it was impossible to deceive them by any Artifice or Wile whatsoever.

The 26th an Order was fix'd on the Gates, importing, That all Persons that would enter, must come furnish'd with proper Bills of Health, sign'd by the Curates, Captains and Commissaries, of the several Ports they come from.

The 27th, this Order was publish'd in the Territory, and a Circular Letter on the same Subject was sent to all the Curates, Captains, and Commissaries, in order for their Information.

The 28th, the rest of the Corn which his Holiness had order'd for the Support of this City, arriv'd in two Ships, at *Toulon*, and the Bishop came to the Town-House to concert

Measures with the Commander *Langeron*, and the Sheriffs, proper means to conduct it into the City, where the Ships could not come by reason of the Contagion.

The 29th. the Imbarkation of *Languedoc*, which came loaded with Provisions, and other Necessaries, to the Port of *Angel*, in the Isle of *Roteneau*, one of the Isles of *Marseilles*, labour'd under great Difficulties; from this Place their Cargoes were convey'd to the Barrier of the Sea which was at *Lestacque*, for when they had unloaded their Vessels, they could not find any Ballast for their Ships, without which it was impossible to Navigate them, and return safe to their own Country; therefore the Commander *Langeron*, and the Sheriffs, order'd all the Master Fishermen and Boat-men to repair immediately to the Town-House, and there gave them Orders that no Boat should go out a Fishing, till they had first carried a Load of Ballast to the Isle of *Roteneau*.

The last of November the *Chevalier Rose* undertook the Charge of executing this Order, which he did so soon, and so compleatly, that there was Ballast enough conveyed to that Isle, and more than was sufficient for all the Vessels that came there.

The 1st of December they found the Hospital of the *Rieve Meuve*, which was under the Direction and Government of the *Chevalier Rose*, was now of no use, therefore they made the few Sick that they found in that of the Charity, to be conveyed into this, and ordered the Hospital of Charity to be entirely shut up.

Mr,

Mr: Boyer du Paradis, who had the care of this Hospital, and one of the Physicians that came from Paris, by order of his Royal Highness, and who serv'd his Country with so much Zeal and Ardor, that he ought never to be forgot.

From the 2d to the 5th, they were assembled in order to agree on the most proper Methods to be us'd in order to perfume in general all the Houses of the City where the Contagion had been. This was a tedious piece of Work, and what was very toilsome and laborious, as well as very curious, and important to perform as it ought to be.

Feb. 6. The grand Infirmaryes which had been cleans'd, and perfum'd for a long Time, since Mr. Michel, Physician of the Society of Marseilles. and who was shut up there ever since the Commencement of the Plague in the same Manner with the rest of the Chyrurgeons that were along with him, he perform'd his Duty with so much Firmness and Success, that he was the Admiration of all the World.

The 27th, Messieurs, the Intendants of Health, assembled at the Town-House, in presence of the Commander Langeron, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, to deliberate about cleansing and purifying the Ships, and other Vessels that were in the Harbour, and which had loaded their Merchandise before the Plague was perceiv'd in the City. These Intendants, and those which were absent, which had been return'd a long while since) perform'd their Duty so well, that though it was impossible that they should be every where, yet in general

ral they serv'd every Body so well, that there was hardly one exempted.

The Directors of the Hospital of *Charity*, and those of the *Hôtel de Dieu*, did their Duty with the same Fervency : These last behaved themselves so well in their Places, even to the Charge of managing of the Pest Hospital of *Charity*, where the Approach alone was dreadful enough to make one tremble ; they had amongst them one Gentleman, whose Zeal ought to be particularly taken Notice of ; this was the Sieur *Bruno Oranier*, who when all the World took their flight, from the beginning of the Contagion, he left his own House, and retir'd, and made his Abode at the *Hôtel de Dieu*, in order to devote himself entirely to the Service of the poor sick Creatures, but the Plague soon snatch'd from them a Life which was so valuable, that you shall hardly ever bear of such another lively Instance of *Charity* as this was.

Almost all the municipal, and other principal Citizens were also return'd into the City, most part of their Tradesmen, and Artificers Shops were open, the People, who in their fear and flight had lost all manner of Hopes of Health, and even all manner of Prudence, were now so animated and encourag'd by the Presence, and good Orders which were given by the Commander *Langeron*, and every one was now so assisting one another with their mutual good Offices, and by an exact and admirable Government, which took away all manner of Thoughts of Mortality, that nothing

thing but Recovery and Health was discous'd of.

My Author tells you, that this is nothing but a short Journal which was wrote in haste, at some private Moments; therefore there will in a little Time be one publish'd more at large, and where every Thing will be related that is now omitted, and all the Supplies, and signal Services, worth your Knowledge or Remark, which a great many worthy Persons had rendered to this City, as well within as without: neither will the Miracles that the Chyrurgeons wrought ever be forgot, as well those that come from Court as the others.

The 8th, as there was still Danger in Communication; therefore the Churches could not yet be open'd; but the good Bishop order'd to be erected Altars without the Churches, and to say Mass in Publick.

That Day the Commander *Langeron* issued out an Order, together with the Marquis *de Pilles*, and Messieurs the Sheriffs, wherein Orders were given to all the Commissaries of the several Quarters, and Parishes, what was necessary for them to do in order to hinder, as much as possible, the Introduction of the Plague into the City by hindring any ones Entrance from without, without due and proper Certificates of Health; and likewise to assist all that was possible in the great Work of purifying and cleansing all the infected Houses.

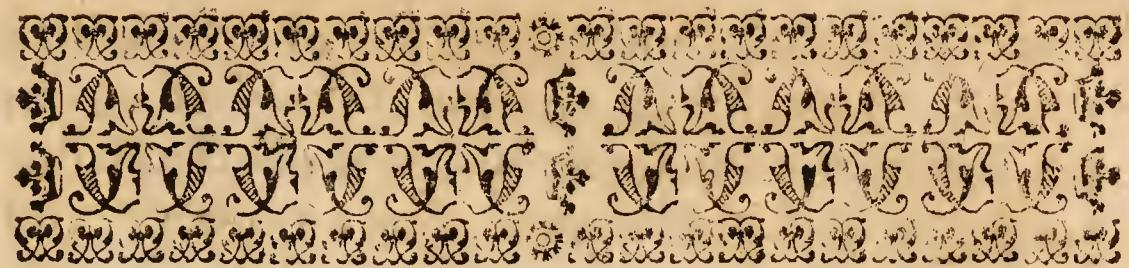
The 9th, on Notice given, that several Taverns, Eating-Houses, Coffee-Houses, and other Places of that Nature were open'd, and there

there was always multitudes of People continually crowding to them, by which mortal Communication was thereby reviv'd : Therefore an Order was immediately given out, requiring them to shut up all their Houses forthwith, on Pain of Imprisonment, and 30 *Livres Fine*.

The 10th of *December*, the Infection was now so very mild and gentle, all over the Town, that there was not any fresh Infected brought to any of the Hospitals ; they had great Reason to hope, that the Anger of God was intirely appeas'd, and that this unhappy and unfortunate City, would in a little Time be entirely freed from this cruel Scourge, which had laid it so desolate, and that it was freed from a Relapse, by the sage, exact, and judicious Precautions, which were took by the Commander *Langeron*, in Concert with the Sheriff's, with a Zeal so indefatigable, with a Assiduity so laborious, a Vigilance so bright, and an Application so singular, that the Health of *Marseilles* can no other way be regarded, than as his Work, and whose glorious Name they will be oblig'd in Honour and Gratitude, ever to respect and venerate ; and also those of the Sheriff's who seconded him so well, and who merited so justly the Titles of Fathers of their Country ; by the Ardour and Zeal with which they were always ready to expose themselves for the Service of the same, without the least regard of their own Lives

*Done at Marseilles in the Town-House the 10th  
of December, 1720.*

*F I N I S.*



A

# LETTER

FROM

Monsieur Pons, v.p. 86.

TO

Monsieur de Bon, Chevalier,

Discovering the

Nature and Cause of the Pestilence, &c.

SIR,

Receiv'd the Letter you did me the  
I Honour of writing me of the 10th  
of this Month, and am extremely ob-  
lig'd to you for those new Marks of Favour you  
have hereby heaped upon me: I cannot any  
ways better show the Esteem and Veneration  
for the same, as likewise the ardent desire I  
have for the Continuation of them, than by  
executing your Commands, in giving you to  
the best of my Knowledge, a short and true  
Relation of the nature of the Distemper that

R.

now

130 *A Letter from Mons. Pons,*

now afflcts the unhappy City of *Marseilles*; as also to notify to you the Remedies which proved the most successful and effectual during this sad Affliction. Sir, I obey, and hope your Goodness will excuse all the Errors a hasty Pen may make in so difficult an Undertaking.

I was really of Opinion, that there was no such thing in Nature as the *Plague*; and that which was so call'd there by our Physicians, was no other than a sort of malignant Fever, proceeding from the want of due Care, and through Prejudices of People in not Bleeding and Purging at proper Times and Seasons; for by this dismal Practice, the Impurities and heterogeneous Particles (which ought to have been carry'd off) remaining in the whole mass of Blood, came at length to separate themselves, by little and little, thereby affecting the Glands in different Parts of the Body, produc'd Swellings in the Parotides or Almonds of the Ear, Buboes in the Groin, Carbuncles, Eruptions and Spots breaking out in several Parts of the Body, and all other Signs of Inflammation which are observed in the Plague. This Doctrine was taught us at *Montpelier* in the Years 1688, 1689, 1690, and 1691. being the time I stay'd there, in order to take my Degrees. But, alas! this Doctrine had no other Foundation but only simple Presumption; the Gentlemen that were then Professors had never seen the Plague.

Having therefore fill'd my Head with this Idea, I never hesitated, or was the least concern'd

cern'd in coming hither ; and acquiesc'd, without the least trouble or difficulty, with the Request of Monsieur *Bernage*, which he order'd to be made to me by Monsieur *Boudoul*, *Chatolen* or Lord of *Pezenas* ; but I was prodigiously surpris'd when I had seen, with Messieurs, our Collegues, that the Distemper which this City was now afflicted with, was really the Plague, in all Particulars the same as has been described by the different Authors that have treated upon that Subject ; and accompanied with all the most essential Symptoms, in such manner as there was no room left to doubt in the least, but that the Plague was of it self a real and existing Distemper, and that it ought to be treated as such by a particular Method.

But if it is so easy to convince one of the reality of the Plague, it is not so plain and easy to discover its nature. After a great deal of Study and Thought, it appeared to me to have a great affinity with the *Small-Pox* : Both the one and the other rage at different Times and Places.

The *Small-Pox* happens more frequently than the *Plague*, which although it rages but seldom, is yet too frequent ; since there is not any Age passes over without perceiving something of its Fury ; it spreads itself from one Country to another ; it infects successively the Towns and Villages ; it commonly attacks a Person but once, which is altogether the same as the *Small-Pox*.

132 A Letter from Monsr. Pons,

According to this Notion and Idea we ought to establish a *Seminium Pestis* in the Air to produce the *Plague*, as we have establish'd one for the Small-Pox, since they are equally epidemick. I shall not enter into a detail of the Causes which unfolds and puts this Ferment into Motion, as Famine, Misery, &c. I shall leave that to the wise Professors ; and shall only remark what I have observ'd to have happened in the different *Stadias* of the *Plague*, to have appeared the same in the *Small-Pox*.

They were immediately seiz'd with Shivering and Vomiting, Pains of the Head, Flushings in the Face, their Eyes staring and sparkling, a *Delirium*, a Heaviness and Drowsiness, accompanied with a Fever, and when the morbid Matter could not separate it self by *Buboes* or *Carbuncles*, &c. and that the Symptoms were very violent, they died in Twenty Four Hours at farthest ; and there was no Remedies then of any effect.

Others were seized with Shivering and *Cordialgias*, a total decay of Strength, a pale and dead Visage, their Eyes sunk in their Heads, accompanied with a hard Pulse, a difficulty of Respiration, and most of these died also.

Those which, after the first Attack, had *Buboes* appeared, or *Carbuncles*, or other *Plague Sores*, the Fever soon left them, or very much decreas'd, the malignant Particles being by those Means thrown on the outward Parts of the Body, where they soon came to

a Suppuration, or where a plentiful Sweat succeeded, those all recovered.

On the other hand, where Nature was not strong enough to make those Separations in large quantities, and in time, the Fever very seldom left them; therefore some of those recovered, but the greatest part of them died.

By this, Sir, you may see what a Resemblance it had with the *Small Pox*. When the Leven of the *Plague* had attack'd the Mass of Blood, and by its Agitation and Fermentation coagulated the same, whereby the Morbifick Matter could not any ways be evacuated by the common Emunctories, it made immediately an Inflammation on the *Visera*, and the Person died. In like manner it happens in the *Small Pox*, when the Leven coagulates the Blood, and hinders the necessary Secretions. But when, on the other hand, after a sudden Ebullition, Buboes, Carbuncles appear, and that the Fever ceases, the Sick are able in two or three Days to get up, to walk, or go about, and to eat, we have seen a great many of this kind. The same thing is seen in the kindest Sort of *Small Pox*. The third Station, which is that of Suppuration; and is so well known in the *Small Pox* to be accompanied with so much danger, even at the time that the Pustules are come to due Suppuration, and that the Fever should entirely leave them, and that oftentimes fatal Consequences has followed; so many Morbifick Particles should still remain behind in the Blood, or that it should flow back again,

by

134 A Letter from Mons. Pons,

by reason of a slow and tedious Suppuration.) The same Thing was remark'd in the Plague that was now current here; we have seen several Buboes and Carbuncles which were come to Suppuration, and that the Sick could not save themselves from Death, by reason of the internal Inflammations, and constant Fluxes of the Belly, which happens commonly on the 14th, and even the 21st Day, because all the Malignacy of the Plague was not as yet evacuated.

Of all the Medicines I kept by me for my Use, I first tried the Antimonial Emetick mixt with Purgatives; but without any Success; I perceived that the Distemper commonly carried them off on the 3d or 4th Day after their being seiz'd. If I was call'd to them in 24 Hours after the Invasion, I confin'd my self only to a light, gentle Emetick, and supported my Remedy with gentle and easy Cordials, as *Venice Treacles*, *Diascordium*, *Powder of Vipers*, *Diaphoretiek Antimony*, *Bezor*, *Bolearmoniack*, *Seal'd Earth*, given in a small Dose, and often repeated,

I was now, Sir, under the greatest Obligation in the World to make my Observations, for I found my self not only Physician of a great Hospital, which Monsieur Langoron had caus'd to be made in the *Mall*, with Tents, where I had more than 280 Sick, and I found by this Method I gat ground of the Distemper, and that it recovered several: When towards the fifth or sixth Day the Buboes were a little rais'd, and had some Marks of Suppuration;

puration; I order'd them to be open'd with a Caustick, and I order'd all the *Plague Sores* that appear'd, to be ~~sacrificed~~; and moreover, made the Caustick to be applied to them also, which succeeded admirably well.

This, Sir, is all that I have observed touching this Disease; the Idea which I have here given you, may seem somewhat extraordinary, because it is wholly new. But, I hope it will be of Service to those Physicians who never have seen the *Plague*, in case they should be obliged at any time to take care of any that should be infected.

I beg that God of his infinite Mercy would preserve that Province from this severe Scourge, and that he will keep your Illustrious Family in Health and Safety; and beg you will believe it to be the greatest Honour I can desire, to be always devoted to your Service; and that I am, with the most profound Respect,

SIR,

Your Most Obedient, and

Most Humble Servant,

At Marseilles  
the 18th of  
Octob. 1720.

Pons, D. M.

F I N I S.

ploy. Auc. 17. 1722. /

On  
the  
left







